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FOUNDERS OF VIJAYANAGARA

BY

S. SRIKANTAYA

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TO
THE RT.-HON'BLE
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FOUNDATION OF THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE AND VIDYĀRĀNYA'S PART THEREIN

Prefatory Note

I WAS invited to deliver a course of five special lectures, on the subject of the foundation of the Empire of Vijayanagara and the part played by the celebrated sage Vidyārāṇya in the foundation of that great Hindu Empire of the South, by the authorities of the Annāmalai University in October 1930. On my return after completing these obligations, I read a paper on Vidyārāṇya and Vijayanagara before the Mythic Society of Bangalore. More than a year later, the authorities of the Mysore University desired me to give the substance of these lectures in a popular form as extension lectures under their auspices at Mysore and Bangalore.

Several publications in book-form and articles in historical periodicals have appeared since my address to the students at Annāmalainagar. In the pages that follow, I have retained the original form of the lectures as delivered under the auspices of the Annāmalai University but I have endeavoured to embody and incorporate, as far as possible, the additional materials and criticisms that have become available during the past few years.

I am obliged to the authorities of the Annāmalai University for their kindly granting me permission to print the lectures delivered under their auspices.

S. SRIKANTAYA.

Introductory

The subject of the early history of the Vijayanagara Empire continues to be of entrancing interest to this day. The foundation of Vijayanagara in 1336 A.D., during the reign of Edward III in England, changed the political fortunes of Southern India for roughly two centuries. The lessons of the experience of Hindu princes in the North were not lost upon the peoples and rulers of the kingdoms in Southern India where warlike feeling largely existed, and a gigantic effort was made to stem the tide of Muhammadan invasion and conquest of the South. Harihara's Empire grew to vast dimensions in the time of his successors and, in their day, Vijayanagara Emperors ruled over a country far larger than Austria and their capital was incomparable for wealth and magnificence. The trade of the Empire was sought after and coveted by the leading nations of the world and there are accounts left by ambassadors and travellers to the Court of Vijayanagara which are of surpassing interest.

The origin of this Empire was first dealt with by the ever-indefatigable Sewell, father of Vijayanagara history. The work has been taken up by several other distinguished scholars and there has been a very large output of literature on this fascinating subject. The number of available inscriptions is vast, particularly in the Mysore State. The literature of the period contains a mine of valuable information and of the standard works on the history of the Vijayanagara Empire, the latest are the valuable compilations by Rev. Father Heras of the St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

Tradition and authentic history give varying versions regarding the origin of the Empire of Vijayanagara and they will be considered in detail in the course of these lectures. It is generally believed that Mādhavācārya, the celebrated scholar and pontiff of the Sringeri Maṭha, was responsible for the foundation of this Empire. Another school regards Harihara and Bukka as feudatories of the last great Hoysala, Ballāla III. They, with the help of the Hoysala Emperor

and of other rulers in the South, established an empire. Some consider them as Muhammadan vassals sent to subjugate Ballāla III and conquer the Karnāṭaka country and as later on usurping authority taking advantage of the disturbed conditions in the locality. There are yet others according to whom, Harihara and Bukka were guards in the treasury of Pratāpa Rudra Deva of Wārangal and after his death at the hands of the Muhammadans, fled and ultimately founded a kingdom. During recent years, there have been still others who consider Anegondi and Kampili chiefs as having provided the future rulers of the Vijayanagara Empire.

The origin of Vijayanagara may not have been a miracle. It may have been the result of a supreme Hindu effort, in order to protect their religion, their *dharma* and their country and to provide a bulwark against the devastating Muhammadan hordes from the north of India. The Hoysala ruler Ballāla III may have established the Empire for the purpose and carried on his campaigns against the Muhammadans till he fell fighting in 1342 A.D. Princes of other ruling dynasties in the South may have helped him in this endeavour. The perturbed condition of the Muhammadan Empire in the North may have contributed towards the successes achieved in the South against the Muhammadan armies. The Shia Muhammadans in the Deccan may have proved troublesome to the Sultanate at Delhi and assisted the Hindu Rajas in the South. The rising sons of Sangama may have continued the work of consolidating Hindu authority and of preserving Hindu religion and *dharma* south of the Vindhyas, enabled thereto by the towering personality of the scholar-statesman Mādhavācārya, known to the world as Vidyāranya Śrīpāda of the Advaita Maṭha at Sringeri. The latter may have been the cementing factor amongst the several kings in the South and the people of varied faiths.

How far the Vijayanagara dynasty, whether of Kannada or Telugu origin, was an indigenous and independent one, owing no fealty to any one, or as subordinate to any other ruler, be he the Hoysala Ballāla of Dorasamudra, the Kākatīya Pratāpa

Rudra Deva of Wārangal, Rāmadeva of Deogiri or Daulatabad, Raja of Aneḡondi, Kāmpila or Kumāra Rāmanātha of Kummatadurga, requires investigation. We have, further, to find out if Harihara and Bukka had been sent by the Sultan of Delhi against Ballāla III and whether, on his defeat, they usurped the country for themselves. And finally, what, if any, part did Vidyāranya or the Gurus of the Sringeri Maṭha play in assisting in the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire ?

I propose, in the course of these lectures, to give an account of the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire with reference to the above topics. The consideration of the part played by Mādhavācārya necessarily involves a detailed discussion of the various traditions, chronicles and inscriptions which mention his connection with the origin of the Sangama dynasty. A number of inscriptions is said to be doubtful and a few spurious by several scholars and Rev. Fr. Heras goes farther than most others in this respect. In his view, practically all the inscriptions relating to the Vidyāranya tradition or to the connection of Vidyāranya with Harihara and Bukka in any Imperial or political undertaking are spurious and must at all events be looked upon with suspicion. Assuming the spurious nature of several of these inscriptions, it will still have to be considered whether the tradition contained in them is also false. Would the Gurus of Sringeri Maṭha be responsible for these forgeries ? How far can we condemn grants and inscriptions of such public institutions ? Did the ascetic dwellers in the Maṭha at Sringeri take advantage of the situation arising out of the confusion in the Empire during the early years of the second Vijayanagara dynasty and augment their position and importance ? The Gurus of Sringeri have all along been known for their piety, religion and *dharma* ; their scholarship and learning are unrivalled. Did one of them, Rāmacandra Bhārati Svāmi, or others under his inspiration, get up false traditions, fabricate documents embodying these false traditions, in order to become Rāja Gurus and improve their position as *Karnāṭaka Simhāsana Pratisthāpanācāryas* ? Are the subsequent traditions, literary references and

inscriptional accounts connecting Vidyāranya with the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and describing the capital of the Empire as Vidyānagara traceable to the "false decretals" of this Sringeri "Nicholas"? I have gone through the entire range of available literature, inscriptional and otherwise, and I must admit I have not been able to find any justification for condemning the traditions as having been forged by the ascetic dwellers in Sringeri or elsewhere. Whether the Vidyāranya tradition be founded on fact or be a pure myth, it must have been there from the beginning. A sweeping statement attacking the Jagadgurus of Sringeri as devoid of all notions of honesty, truth, religion or *dharma* and as descending to fabricate records, if only to gain a profit thereby, provided others are not harmed by it, is entirely unmerited.

The existence of two Mādhavas in the early Vijayanagara history, one a disciple of Vidyāśankara and another belonging to the Kriyāśakti school of religious thought, both contemporaries, statesmen and learned scholars, has led to considerable confusion in identifying their works or achievements. This aspect of the question will also be considered to some extent.

Muhammadan Conquest of Northern India

NORTH INDIA BEFORE MUHAMMADAN RULE

To understand and appreciate the significance of the origin and foundation of the Empire of Vijayanagara in the south of India in its proper perspective, a short retrospect concerning the growth of Islam and the expansion of the Muhammadan power in Northern India is necessary. Both Northern and Peninsular India were well known for their trade; and intercourse between Africa, Europe and India both on sea and by overland routes was great. There is evidence that in the ninth century of the Christian era, even regarding those parts of India which the Greeks and the Romans were accustomed to visit, the Arabians had acquired more perfect information.¹ According to them, there was then a Muhammadan sovereignty, which was confined to the Arab Peninsula at the time of the Prophet's death in 632 A.D., spread to Syria and Egypt in half-a-dozen years thereafter, and in a short time the Persian Empire as far as Herat had become a part of the growing Empire of the Arabs. Before the close of the century, Northern Africa had been conquered by Muhammadan arms and with the fall of Spain in 713 A.D., the Muhammadans had been able to penetrate into the very heart of France whence they were turned back by Charles Martel in 732 A.D. There was, however, no echo of this remarkable insurgence in the India of the time and Hiuen Tsang does not allude to these events in his note on the political conditions. On the eve of the Arab invasion of India, its western borderland was dominated by the powerful Hindu Kingdoms of Kāpiśa in the North, Sindhu in the South and Tsao-kulā or Tsao-li between them. Sind adjoined Bannu which formed the southernmost part of the territories of the Kāpiśi ruler. Naturally therefore, the first shock of the Muhammadan invasions was equally felt at Kabul, Zabul and Sind. Half a century of unceasing effort upon Kabul and its neighbouring territory accomplished a nominal suzerainty imposed

by an occasional raid and levy of some tributes. Kabul remained long unconquered. Relations of the Arab with Sind led to more prolonged wars and more permanent results. Desertion in the army, constant strife with neighbouring kingdoms and the danger to the Brahmanical States from powerful Buddhist monks who held sway over districts were also among the causes.

Thus the Arab raids against the coast of India which commenced about 637 A.D., after alternating successes and failures, attained one successful result by the conquest of the Makran coast in the latter part of the 7th century. During the Caliphate of Umar II, the rulers of Sind like Jayasimha and others adopted the religion of the Prophet and assumed Arab names, retaining the thrones and enjoying the privileges and obligations of the Muslims. When later he apostatised, a battle followed and he was captured. The Muhammadan Governor of Sind extended his campaigns into the interior and several kingdoms on the right bank of the Indus came under his rule. The Nausari Plates (Gujrat) of the Cālukya Pulikeśi, 738 A.D., refer to the Arab invasions and the defeat of the several kingdoms—Saindhavas, Kachchellas, Saurāstras, Charotakas, Mauryas and Gūrjaras. Then came a lull to the Muhammadan arms, due perhaps to the combined efforts of the Indian chiefs including the Pratibhāra ruler Nāgabhaṭṭa and the Cālukyan Pulikeśi and to a period of confusion in the Islamic State.

Three centuries of persistent effort, wonderful organisation of the Arabs, their superior knowledge and statesmanship, their method of warfare and their determination to carry on Islamic culture to distant lands achieved remarkable results throughout the world. Apart from any question of military superiority of the Arab in his conquest of India, sufficient has been said how it was not possible for the Hindu to keep off the invader for a time. Arab penetration further into the interior was checked by Nāgabhaṭṭa and Pulikeśi. Iswari Prasad regards the Arab episode in India as a triumph without results, an unremunerative appanage which left only a few families and

settlements as a memorial of their conquest in India. For, "the absence of that bond of sympathy between the conqueror and the conquered, which arises from mutual confidence was a conspicuous feature of the Arab administration of India."

The next Muhammadan invaders of India were of a different type. In ferocity of temper and iconoclastic zeal the Turks were in strong contrast with the cultured Arabs and Persians. On the Malabar Coast there was an empire ruled by kings whose authority was paramount over that of every other power in India and, as we know, the East continued to be looked forward to for the supply of the luxuries which the West most needed, and this state of things lasted till the decay and disruption of the Vijayanagara Empire itself. The Genoese and the Florentines and, later, the Portuguese and the Dutch and, lastly, the French and the English were the competitors for capturing the trade of the East.

First Muhammadan Invaders

Long anterior to the introduction of the religion of the Prophet Muhammad into India, the trade between Arabia and Western India was extensive. The spirit of Islam breathed a new atmosphere into the Arabs who in a century managed to spread themselves far and wide throughout the world. The first country in India to fall into the hands of the Muhammadans was Sind.² Early in the eighth century, Muhammad, son of Kāsim, conquered Sind and firmly established the political predominance of Islam in that province. His rule over Sind, however, appears to have been just and sympathetic, under which the Hindus were allowed full religious freedom.³ A river formerly separated Sind from India and to the east of that river was the Gūjjara Kingdom of Bhinmal, united with Kanauj from the beginning of the ninth century. There were chronic hostilities between the neighbours, belonging to

² V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, pp. 430-31.

³ See Elliot, *Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 185-86 *et seq.* Stanley Lane-poole, *Medieval India*, pp. 10-12. Iswari Prasad, *Hist. of Ind.*, p. 44.

the two different faiths. During the same period, however, down below on the west coast of India, which in the time of Sulaiman was flooded by Arab merchants, relations between the Muhammadans and the Rāṣtrakūṭas were cordial: the Muhammadan was paying tribute to the Rāṣtrakūṭa king.^{3a} One result, however, was the spread of the sciences of the East westwards, helped by the sword of Islam and the imperial instincts of the Arab.

In the North, Islam brought with it all the enthusiasm of a new religion⁴ with a simple and awe-inspiring system and all the energy of a fiercer race compared with the mild Hindu. The character of the early Muhammadan invasions into India was associated with a spirit of plunder, like the Mongol raids later on under Muhammadan rule. There was no idea of conquest or occupation of territory: perhaps because by usurpation it was not possible—and it was known—to keep disorderly elements always under control. As Prof. Ratnaswamy says—‘Nomads were the Muhammadan conquerors of India and nomadic was their rule. The impress of nomadism was felt in their government, their social life, their attitude to the country they invaded, and their relations with the people they brought under their subjection. It coloured their public and private life, prompted some of their most characteristic actions and policies, and determined the course of their career in the country..... It is the key to their history, because it was the spirit of their civilisation.’ To the Turk and Afghan rulers in India, war was the supreme happiness of life. Perhaps, that was the spirit of the times throughout the world.

The Samani dynasty founded the house of Ghazni which plays a prominent part in Indian history. Sabuktigin was

^{3a} *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Part 2, Chap. XI, p. 763. Muhammadan rulers of Sind were friends with the Rāṣtrakūṭas who were the enemies of the Gūrjara Kings of Bhinnal.

⁴ *Historians' History of the World*, Vol. XXII, p. 21.

⁵ *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. IX, pp. 190–91. *Mysore University Magazine*, Vol. V, p. 223.

the Sultan of Ghazni, having married his master's daughter and been constituted as heir by him for the Ghazni province. The neighbourhood of a Muhammadan State alarmed the Hindus on the left bank of the Indus river. They had somewhat recovered themselves for some three centuries from the fears of the Arab invasions but could not forget the cruelty and oppression of their forefathers under the Arab yoke. Without waiting for an attack from Sabuktigin, the Hindu rulers formed a confederacy of States under the bold lead of Raja Jaipāl of Lahore and marched against him. Sabuktigin and his son, the famous Sultan Mahmūd met the combined Hindu forces on the field, and there were several skirmishes, followed by wind and rain and hailstorms. There was terrible disaster from which the Muhammadan armies recovered but the less hardy Hindus could not. Jaipāl sued for peace undertaking to pay tribute and presents. However, he did not keep to it but ill-treated the messengers who came to recover the same. This led to another war in the course of which the kings of Delhi, Ajmir, Kālanjar and Kanauj with several others fought on the side of Jaipāl. The Hindu armies 'appeared like the boundless ocean and in number like the ants and locusts in the wilderness'; but Sabuktigin defeated them all, got immense booty and plunder and was acknowledged king of the territory west of the upper Indus river. He died in 997 A.D. after a rule characterised by prudence, equity and moderation. Sultan Mahmūd succeeded him.⁶ In 1001 A.D. Jaipāl was defeated and he ascended the funeral pyre. Fifteen chiefs were taken prisoners. In 1004 A.D., the Hindus again did not pay tribute and Mahmūd advanced through Multan to Bhateā City of Bejay Ray. Muhammadan prowess prevailed and the Raja rushed on his own sword to escape imprisonment.⁷ In 1005 A.D. Mahmūd went to chastise Abul Fateh Lodi, chief of Multan, who had rebelled and joined Ānangapāl, son

⁶ Beveridge, *Comprehensive History of India* (1872), Vol. I, p. 44. V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 190.

⁷ Bev., I, p. 44; V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 191.

of Jaipāl. They were defeated at the battle of Peshawar and Ānangapāl fled for refuge to Kashmir.⁸ Mahmūd returned to meet the Tartar hordes under Prince Elik Khan but came again to fight the formidable coalition of Hindu rulers arranged by Ānangapāl in the meantime. Their united forces brought into the Punjab a larger army than had ever been there before and new auxiliaries were daily joining. Hindu women sold their jewels to assist in the holy war. Ānangapāl was defeated and Mahmūd returned rich with the spoils of India.⁹ By 1023 A.D. a Muhammadan garrison was for the first time permanently stationed beyond the Indus.¹⁰

Thus, we find the Hindu rulers who up to the close of the tenth century were free to do what they liked within their own territories, exempt from foreign invasion or control of any paramount authority, pitched against an aggressive Muhammadan power, alien in religion, ideas, social customs and methods of warfare which was a greatly disturbing element in the politics of India.¹¹

Sultan Mahmūd sacked Mathura,¹² the birth-place of Krishna and in the course of another expedition, the sixteenth, Sonmāth,¹³ known to be stored with incalculable riches. In the course of the fight, over 50,000 are said to have been slain. As a result of Sultan Mahmūd's expeditions, most of the Punjab was annexed to the Ghazni Sultanate.¹⁴ According to his apologists, Sultan Mahmūd's object was not conquest, but plunder: his exploits were not directed by religious zeal but secular motives. His rich store of captives and treasure were a reward of Muslim piety of an essentially Central Asian prince. Though Hindu temples were desecrated and their

⁸ Bev., I, p. 45.

⁹ Bev., I, p. 46.

¹⁰ Bev., I, p. 48.

¹¹ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 190.

¹² V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 192.

¹³ *Ib.*, p. 193.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, p. 193.

treasures removed, yet Hindus continued to hold positions of trust and responsibility under him and were prosperous.

Passing on from the expeditions of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, which left no enduring impressions and results and after which the Hindu kings continued as disunited as ever, now that the fear of foreign invasion had passed away, to the next stage of conflict in North Indian history, we find the dynasty of Ghor play an important part in it. In this struggle, the Rajputs particularly distinguished themselves. The Hindu struggle for independence began again about 1179 A.D., under the lead of the Raja of Delhi and finally ended, after early successes, in the capture of the Hindu princes and their territories.¹⁵ The onward march of the Muhammadan received some checks, here and there as in Gujrat in 1178 A.D.¹⁶ But when the basin of the Indus was secured, further advances into the fertile plains of India became comparatively easy of accomplishment. The idolators were considered fit to be sent to hell according to the simple creed of the invaders and the tempting riches there were their legitimate prey.

The magnitude of the danger induced the Hindu rulers to leave aside their quarrels for the time and to organise a powerful expedition as their forefathers had previously done. In 1192 A.D. Prithvirāj led the resistance but was defeated, captured and executed.¹⁷ This was the fate of the most popular hero of Hindustan whose exploits form the subject-matter of local epics. In 1194 A.D., Raja Jaichand essayed to stem the torrent of Muhammadan ruthlessness and he too was among the slain.¹⁸ Delhi, Benares and other places also soon fell. This and almost the whole of the next century witnessed the conquest of several of the northern Hindu kingdoms of India, and any respite they had was owing either to rebellion here and there, quarrel for succession or the threatened invasions of the Mongol hordes from the north-western border, the most vulnerable part of the

¹⁵ Bev., I, p. 58.

¹⁶ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 218.

¹⁷ Bev., I, p. 60.

¹⁸ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 195.

Indian Empire. By 1236 A.D. the subjection of Hindustan was more or less complete. Muhammad Ghorī may have been less fanatical and more politic than Sultan Mahmūd; the people may have been under wise rule; but yet tribute and military service were exacted as the price of toleration. The Rajas and their subjects could not bear to see the Hindu kingdoms crumble away before their eyes, one after another.

The story of the Hindu defeat in Northern India has its lessons to tell. Iron discipline and unity of command are two essential factors for the success of an army in the field. The last great occasion when it was realised was in the Great War in Europe a few years ago. V. A. Smith says "No Hindu general in any age was willing to profit by experience and learn the lesson taught by Alexander's operations long ago. Time after time enormous hosts, formed of the contingents supplied by innumerable Rajas, and supported by the delusive strength of elephants, were easily routed by quite small bodies of vigorous western soldiers, fighting under one undivided command, and trusting chiefly to well-armed mobile cavalry. Alexander, Muhammad of Ghor, Babar, Ahamad Shah Durani, and other capable commanders, all used essentially the same tactics by which they secured decisive victories against Hindu armies of incredible numbers." The Hindu military system "broke down when pitted against the onslaughts of hardy casteless horsemen from the west," and "the Hindu defenders of their country, although fully equal to their assailants in courage and contempt of death, were distinctly inferior in the art of war and, for that reason, lost their independence." The same story marked the decay of the Vijayanagara Empire. It is an important point to consider how far a national militia raised in India on a non-caste basis will provide for its defence in the Indian Federation of the future.

SOUTH INDIA BEFORE THE MUHAMMADAN INVASIONS

The current of events in Northern India ordinarily pursued its own course, unmindful of the trend of events in the far South, for generations. True, an Asoka or a Harṣa expanded

his dominions across the Vindhya range but that was only once in a way. As regards the south, the kingdoms of the Deccan generally were confined to the frontiers of the Narmada and the Krishna, though occasionally there were rulers who made excursions into the rich plains of Āryāvarta and reached the banks of the Ganges. Hence, we find only internecine strife amongst the rulers of the south in their isolation. Of course, from time immemorial extensive foreign trade was carried on with Peninsular India by countries of Europe and Africa and of the Far East.

From the seventh century A.D. the Pallavas of Kānchi overshadowed for several decades the ancient Pāṇḍya, Cola and Cera kingdoms.¹⁹ The royal line of the Kadambas held sway in the south-west for several decades. The Kadambas indeed do not disappear from history till the rise of Vijayanagara in the fourteenth century and it is conjectured they may have been related to the Vijayanagara rulers.²⁰ The Gangas were a powerful dynasty of rulers in Mysore. They were succeeded by the Hoysalas. In the eleventh century, the Colas became paramount in the south. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Cālukyas after varying vicissitudes silently disappeared from history. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we find the Hoysala Empire predominant in the south of India. The Yādavas of Deogiri and the Kākatiyas of Wārangal rose into prominence on the break-up of the Cālukyan and Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdoms.²¹

Side by side with the political revolutions in this part of India, there was going on silently, in varying degrees, a modification in religion, manners and art. But the never-ending dynastic conflicts were not however without their effects on the development of political institutions.

Trade and intercourse was free between Northern and Southern India, and travellers in pursuit of learning were large.

¹⁹ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 181.

²⁰ Rice, *Mysore & Coorg*, p. 28.

²¹ S. K. Aiyengar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, pp. 143-151.

The people in the south could not be unaware of the barbarities and cruelties inflicted upon their northern neighbours by the foreign invader and his hordes. These stories must even have circulated with much exaggeration in the Deccan. In spite of natural barriers, religious and philosophical movements of the south profoundly influenced the north and the tenets of Śankara and Rāmānuja had their supporters from the Cape to the snowy ranges of the Himālayas. Whatever diversity in blood, manners, language, customs and political allegiance, the ideals of religion as enjoined in the Śāstras tended to withstand powerful disintegrating forces amongst the Hindu people and make them unite against a common danger.

The persistent efforts of the Muhammadans to conquer all India and convert the people to the religion of the Prophet could not have been lost on the inhabitants and rulers in Southern India. Likewise, they must have known how very powerful organisations of the Hindus were, time and again, overthrown by the Muhammadan armies, with ruthless slaughter and complete plunder and ruin overtaking the people and the country in the north.

A glance at the political map of South India will reveal astonishing features and help to understand clearly the object of the Muhammadan conquerors of India at the time. An account of Indian history of this period is mainly the story of feudatories' families rising into power when the time was opportune. The assistance of neighbours was naturally forthcoming in anticipation of participating in the division of spoils, as a result of contest. This characteristic of South Indian history continued till the consolidation of British Dominion in the Deccan. With the extinction of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as victims of a domestic revolution, arose a scion of the Western Cālukyas and he acquired some prominence. In the fight between them and the Colas under Rājarāja—a long and bitter struggle between two powerful and well-matched powers with great organising capacity and plenty of resource—came into prominence, amongst others, the Yādavas, the Kākatīyas and the

Hoysalas already referred to. There was in the south a war of succession for the Pāṇḍyan throne in which the Ceylonese and the Colas and their feudatories took opposite sides. These civil dissensions ruined all the parties, depleted their treasuries, depopulated their populous cities and devastated their fertile and smiling plains. On the fall of the Cola, the Pāṇḍya and the Hoysala fought for the spoils.

Thus, at or about the time when the famous Venetian traveller Marco Polo visited the Indian coast, we find four well-marked groups of States. The Hoysalas under Vira Narasimha and the Pāṇḍyas under Sundarapāṇḍya were ruling the south. Rāmadeva of the Yādava Vamśa was at Deogiri and Pratāpa Rudra Deva II was governing the Kākatiya kingdom from Wārangal. We have to take into our consideration of this subject, the Rajas of Anegondi and Kampila and Kumārārāmanātha of Kummaṭadurga.

In strong contrast with the history of Northern Indian kingdoms of this period, the thirteenth century in Southern India was characterised by a high water-mark of Hindu progress in every direction. Though the country was politically divided and the kingdoms were in a state of rapid decline, offering an easy prey to the first southern invasions of Allaudin Khilji and the more systematic raids of his general Mallik Kafur afterwards, it was only for a time that the Muhammadan stood as arbiter in the south. The position of Hinduism was somewhat modernised. Literature and religion adjusted themselves to the religion of the masses and the administration was also highly organised. The reaction consequent upon Muhammadan invasions and the resulting confusion and alarm led to deep thinking and searchings of heart amongst the statesmen and the learned. A new empire was raised as a result of pooling together local efforts in different parts of the kingdoms of Southern India. When the dreaded Muhammadan invaders reached the river Krishna, the Hindus, stricken with terror, combined and gathered in haste to the new standard which alone seemed to offer them some hopes of protection. The

decayed old states crumbled and the warlike princes of Vijayanagara became masters of the situation and established a large and united Hindu Empire, the origin of which it is our attempt to trace.

South Indian Kingdoms

The Yādavas of Deogiri were probably at first feudatory nobles of the Cālukyan kingdom. In the closing years of the twelfth century, they were rivals to the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra. Rāmacandra or Rāma Deva was the last independent sovereign of the Yādava rulers of Deogiri.

To revert to the Delhi Sultanate in far-off Delhi, in 1288 A.D. there was a revolution resulting in the death of Kaikobad and the accession of Jalaluddin.²² His acts were marked by humane sentiments. In 1291 A.D., there was a dreadful famine in Northern India and in 1292 A.D. a Moghul invasion under Holakoo Khan, grandson of Chengis Khan, was repelled. 3,000 Moghul mercenaries were entertained in the Delhi army.²³ In 1293 A.D.,²⁴ the Sultan's nephew Allaudin, formerly governor of Kurra, also became governor of Oudh. He had entertained certain schemes of conquest which he now began to pursue with a view to ultimate independence.

Rāma Deva of Deogiri was reputed to possess enormous wealth, treasured from a long time. Allaudin's object was not conquest or occupation of territory but plunder.²⁵ No Muhammadan had hitherto set his foot in Southern India and he anticipated much wealth in store for him. He was conducting an expedition in Bhilsa for the Sultan when he heard of the vast riches of the Deogiri Raja. Rāma Deva was not at headquarters and had, besides, sent a large army under his son Śankara Deva against the Hoysala king Ballāla III, who was trying to help the Pāṇḍya.²⁶ Under these circumstances,

²² Bev., I, p. 74.

²³ Bev., I, p. 75.

²⁴ Bev., I, p. 76.

²⁵ S. K. I., *Begs. S. I. His.*, pp. 151-57.

²⁶ S. K. I., *South India & Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 76-77

Allaudin after reaching the frontier of the Deccan, pressed against Deogiri. When Rāma Deva heard of this, the invader was only twelve miles from Deogiri. Allaudin defeated the king. The fortress held out for some time but ultimately capitulated. The Raja offered a huge ransom which Allaudin accepted. In the meantime, Śankara Deva who had returned, advanced and fought the Muhammadan army. The wheel of fortune had, however, turned and the Hindus were defeated, almost exhausted in the fight. The country round Ellichpur was ceded to Allaudin who returned with immense booty to the capital. A little while after, the uncle and nephew met and Jalaluddin died as a result of foul play. Allaudin succeeded him as Sultan of Delhi in 1296 A.D.²⁷ On his accession to the gadi, he tried to court popularity by various conciliatory measures. He tried for security on the frontier by driving back the Mongols, as Balban had done before him. The wealth of the Deccan was, however, too tempting to an enterprising adventurer and after the defeat of the Mongol invaders, Allaudin again turned his attention towards the south.²⁸ Gujrat which had held out for a century was reduced in 1297 A.D., and Raja Raja Karan escaped into the territories of Rāma Deva of Deogiri in the Deccan but his wives, children, elephants, baggage and treasure were captured. About the same time, another invasion of the Moghuls, under Kootloogh Khan, with 200,000 horse, and with the object of conquering the entire Hindustan, took place. The invader crossing the Indus proceeded to Delhi and encamped, without opposition, on the banks of the Jumna. The people, fleeing in dismay, crowded the capital. Supplies were cut off and famine prevailed. The nobles advised terms of peace but Allaudin gallantly prepared to fight. In spite of treachery, rebellion and disaffection amongst the nobles, followers and army of Allaudin, the invader failed to take advantage of the situation and returned. This led Allaudin to imagine himself a second

²⁷ Bev., I, pp. 82-83.

²⁸ *Ib.*, p. 84.

Alexander and to conceive grand projects. He wanted to start a new faith and effect fresh conquests in India itself.²⁹ In 1299 A.D., Allaudin marched on Jaipur.³⁰ During his absence from the capital, his nephew and brother-in-law Rukn Khan had rebelled but Allaudin soon recovered and his nephew fled from the throne.³¹ Later, Jaipur was captured. Ilāmbir Dev, his family and garrison were put to the sword. The same fate overtook the Raja's minister who had turned traitor to him. In 1300 A.D., the first attack on Ranthambhor and Chittoor was unsuccessful but in the following year, Ranthambhor fell and the defenders committed *Johur*. Thus, Gujrat, Rajputana and Malwa were conquered and the whole of Hindustan came under his firm rule.³²

Allaudin's general, the eunuch Mallik Kafur was entrusted with an expedition into Southern India and the campaigns were carried on between the years 1301—1311 A.D. Kafur returned to the capital in 1311 A.D. with incredible wealth from the accumulated treasuries in the south. In the course of his campaigns, the Yādavas of Deogiri were completely subjugated, the Hoysalas were humbled and their capital plundered, the Coromandel was overrun and Muhammadan garrisons were quartered at Madura, the ancient Pāṇḍyan capital. Dreadful cruelties were practised by the invaders as we shall see.

To continue the narrative, Chittoor was again attacked in 1303 A.D., and the attack was contemporaneous with a blockade of Delhi by the Moghul who, however, retreated again for unknown reasons.³³ In 1304 A.D., Malwa was captured, the Raja was defeated and the surrender of ancient Ujjain was signified by illuminations and rejoicings at the Muhammadan capital. The defeated, yet proud, Raja was taken prisoner to Delhi where he declined an insulting offer of freedom. The

²⁹ Bev., I, p. 79.

³⁰ Bev., I, p. 80.

³¹ Bev., I, p. 81.

³² V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 233.

³³ Bev., I, pp. 82–83.

story goes that his beautiful daughter feigning consent to her joining the Sultan's harem by a clever strategy regained for her father his freedom. In 1305 and 1306, two Moghul invasions were successfully repelled. The Muhammadan armies crossed the Indus on plundering raids into Kabul, Ghazni and Kandahar. It may thus be affirmed that Allaudin had rid Hindustan of most of his enemies and restored comparative tranquillity at or about the time of Mallik Kafur's southern campaigns.³⁴

Taking advantage of the disturbed condition of affairs in the Muhammadan Sultanate at Delhi, Rāma Deva had withheld the agreed tribute for a period of three years. Kafur advanced against him with 100,000 horse, reinforced on the way by the armies supplied by the governors of Malwa and Gujrat. On the frontiers of the Deccan, he met with severe opposition and made little progress for a time. He captured the daughter of the beautiful Kamalā Devi, who like her mother before, was taken to the harem and married to Allaudin's son. Mallik Kafur, however, was able to subdue a greater part of the Mahratta country and force Rāma Deva to sue for peace. In 1306 A.D., he agreed again to be a feudatory of the Sultan continuing to be faithful to him and during the remaining years of his life did not depart from this undertaking.³⁵ Rāma Deva hospitably received Kafur and went with him to Delhi.³⁶

In 1309 A.D. in the course of his second expedition, Mallik Kafur proceeded to Wārangal, through Deogiri.³⁷ An army sent thither had previously returned unsuccessful.³⁸ The fortress was reckoned strong and impregnable.³⁹ The Kākatiyas of Wārangal had a famous queen Rudrāmba, ruling a vast territory between 1261 and 1291. It was in her reign that Marco Polo visited the Coromandel. She was succeeded by her son and heir Pratāpa Rudra Deva II. In the course of

³⁴ Bev., I, p. 84.

³⁵ S. K. I., S. I. & M. I., p. 123.

³⁶ Bev., I, p. 85.

³⁷ S. K. I., S. I. & M. I., pp. 87-88.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

³⁹ *Mad. Ep. Rep.*, 1917, p. 127; Elliot, *His. of Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 80.

his campaign, Kafur appeared at Indore, to the north of Hyderabad and caused terrible consternation and dismay amongst a people who had never seen the Muhammadans before. He encamped before Wārangal. After a very valiant defence, during the course of which Rudra stood Kafur at bay, the fortress was taken by assault. The terms of capitulation offered by Pratāpa Rudra were accepted, the country was laid under tribute and the general left the capital with a thousand camel-loads of booty.⁴⁰

Whether Rāma Deva of Deogiri had offered assistance as a vassal of the Delhi Sultan to Mallik Kafur during this march against Wārangal does not clearly appear. In 1310, again, Mallik Kafur, on his way to Dorasamudra, halted at Deogiri. Śankara Deva, son of Rāma Deva, was ruling and must have exhibited signs of dissatisfaction towards the Delhi ruler.⁴¹ Kafur, however, passed on without serious notice of it on his conquering and plundering expedition. His objectives were Dorasamudra, capital of the Hoysala Ballālas and the south up to the Cape.

The Hoysala Ballālas were a Kannada line of kings. During three centuries they had acquired enormous wealth and a large expanse of territory. Though a few decades before the empire was torn by internecine strife, it had again reunited under King Someśvara, who had proclaimed himself Emperor of the south. At the time of which we are speaking, Ballāla III was Emperor of the Hoysala Ballālas and was ruling over a vast tract of country which had remained united and unscathed during a period of political turmoil in the south. His capital Dorasamudra (part of which is the modern Halebid) in the fastnesses of the Malnad region, nearabout the ghats of the west coast, was in the highest state of prosperity.⁴² He had heard enough of what the Muhammadan invasion to his country

⁴⁰ Bev., I, p. 85.

⁴¹ S. K. I., *S. I. & M. I.*, p. 123.

⁴² S. K. I., *S. I. & M. I.*, p. 123.

would mean. The Hoysalas were responsible for a special style of architecture and the temples in the country were priceless gems of the Hoysala art. Ballāla, therefore, while his army had been sent on a plundering expedition elsewhere, learning of the impending Muhammadan invasion, soon returned to headquarters. His friend and ally, Vira Pāṇḍya, on getting news of the Muhammadan campaign, despatched a large army to assist him. Ballāla, however, offered terms of peace to Mallik Kafur. The Muhammadan general demanded conversion, tribute and *Jezia*. Finally, Ballāla is said to have been taken captive to Delhi and afterwards released. The booty of the conqueror is said to have comprised 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, and 96,000 maunds of gold.⁴³

After the sack of Dorasamudra in 1310 A.D., Mallik Kafur proceeded still further south, reached the Malabar coast and then carried on his victorious campaign into the interior. The plunder of the temples and the wealth that he took back to Delhi on his return were enormous.

In 1312 A.D., Mallik Kafur was despatched again against the recalcitrant Śankara Deva of Deogiri. The Raja was defeated and put to death. The general stayed at the capital for some time collecting all the tributes due to the Sovereign at Delhi and sent the proceeds to the Imperial capital.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, the affairs at Delhi were taking a different turn. The king was getting old and feeble. The flames of insurrection had told upon the centre of the Sultanate at Delhi. Allaudin's fortune was on the decline. The meridian of his splendour and power had passed. Gujrat, which took the lead, defeated the general sent against it with great slaughter. The Rajputs of Chittoor hurled their Muhammadan officers from their places and regained their independence. Harapāla, the son-in-law of Rāma Deva, stirred up the Deccan and expelled several of the Muhammadan garrisons, when Mallik Kafur was recalled and left the place. Even Kafur was not free from

⁴³ *Ib.*, pp. 93-94.

⁴⁴ *Bev.*, I, p. 85.

treasonable designs against his master. Conspiracies in the household and rebellion and defeat of his armies everywhere made Allaudin mad with rage. His illness increased and he died in 1316 A.D.⁴⁵

Allaudin was a most notable ruler. He considerably extended Muhammadan territories in India.⁴⁶ His taste for architecture, like that of his predecessors, was responsible for a number of monuments, chief of which was the Allaudin gate at Delhi. The Moghuls enrolled in the Imperial army became unruly and dangerous, and one of them was very soon to found a new dynasty. For the purposes of our narrative what is more important, however, is the effect of Allaudin's invasions and of his policy towards the Hindus which had a profound bearing on the formation of a Hindu coalition in the south against the Muhammadans. Whether he was merciless and fanatical like the Central Asian warriors of the previous centuries, whether he distributed gifts with a vain liberality on the one hand as he slaughtered on the other, and whatever the extent of wholesale massacres of armed or unarmed and defenceless Hindus, man, woman and child to which he may have been responsible, are matters which have to be judged from the standards of his day. Ibn Batuta's claim for him as one of the best Sultans is not considered to be justified by V. A. Smith either by the manner of obtaining his throne or by the history of his acts as Sultan.⁴⁷ Barani, 'the excellent historian' of Smith, refers to his crafty cruelty and disgusting vice. 'He shed more innocent blood than ever Pharaoh was guilty of.' He ruthlessly killed everyone likely to endanger his throne and his nobles' heads were cut off, root and branch, almost to a man. He initiated a new horror, women and children were not spared. He was a particularly savage tyrant, with very little regard for justice. The bulk of his subjects were Hindus. He enforced the practices of his predecessors with

⁴⁵ *Historians' Hist. of World*, Vol. XXII, p. 23.

⁴⁶ V. A. S., *Ox. Hist. of Ind.*, pp. 232-34.

⁴⁷ Elliot, Vol. III, p. 184.

great precision and definiteness. Rules and regulations were drawn up for grinding down the Hindus and for depriving them of their property and wealth by every possible means, so as to reduce them to a position of helpless indigence. Half the produce, instead of the usual sixth, was taken from the land in years of plenty as well as during seasons of drought and famine.⁴⁸ In his reign, no Hindu could hold up his head, and in the house no sign of gold or silver, or of any superfluity was to be seen. These things, which nourish insubordination and rebellion, were no longer to be found. Blows, confinement in the stocks, imprisonment and chains were all employed to enforce payment.⁴⁹ Add to these, an organised system of espionage and punishments, regulation of prices by executive fiat and establishment of state granaries on a large scale, it was small wonder that this fantastic regulation should die with him, that during his latter days, in the wake of his tyranny, success should no longer attend his arms and that the country should be the hot-bed of intrigue and rebellion.⁵⁰ The demands of Allaudin's military departments were exacting. Heavy tributes were levied on South Indian kingdoms. Royal wealth constituted materials of war and the temple treasuries provided for long journeys, the military necessities and the distinctive methods of warfare.

The policy of Allaudin has been justified by some historians on the exigencies and needs of the time and to punish the wealthy and rebellious Hindus.⁵¹ The vigour, efficiency and comprehensiveness of his centralised administrative system appear to have brought peace and security. The Muslim rule became an imperial power. Institutional life was developed and whatever threatened to impair the efficiency of the State

⁴⁸ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 235.

⁴⁹ S. K. I., *Some Contributions of South India to Indian Culture* pp. 292-93.

⁵⁰ Iswari Prasad, *Med. Ind.*, pp. 209-216.

⁵¹ It is, however, difficult to agree with this contention.

was crushed aside. The cheapness of the necessities of life under State regulations and control increased the happiness of the people and bound them more closely to the personal despotism of the emperor,⁵² in which the people acquiesced as it gave them peace and security from Mongol invasions.

II

South Indian Kingdoms

On the death of Allaudin, Mubarak became Sultan and reigned for a period of four years. He was inept, drunken, revengeful and vicious. Nevertheless, two successes attended the Muhammadan armies. The Imperial hold on Gujrat was tightened. In Deogiri, the Raja, Harapāla Deva had revolted. The Sultan proceeded against him in person to the Deccan and recovered the country of the Mahrattas. Harapāla was unable to offer any great resistance. He was captured and barbarously flayed alive in 1318 A.D. Deogiri became the first Muhammadan province south of the Vindhya and attempts were hereafter to be made for extending their territories with Deogiri as centre.⁵³ The Sultan triumphantly returned and soon gave way to his weaknesses. He was ultimately killed in 1320 at the instance of one of his 'trusted' subordinates Mallik Khusru and thus the dynasty of Allaudin came to an abrupt end. Khusru as Nasirudin was Sultan only in name and but for a short time. His alleged favour of Hindus against Muhammadans was an additional ground of complaint against him and Ghazi Beg Tughlak became Sultan in 1321.⁵⁴

The Raja of Wārangal had revolted and thrown off the Muhammadan yoke, in the meantime.⁵⁵ He tried to rally the forces of Hinduism while his general, Muppudināyaka, marched through Kānchī as far as Trichinopoly.⁵⁶ The Sultan's eldest

⁵² Iswari Prasad, *Med. Ind.*, p. 216.

⁵³ S. K. I., *Begs.*, pp. 166-84; Elliot, III, pp. 558-59; Iswari Prasad, p. 217.

⁵⁴ Bev., I, p. 86.

⁵⁵ Bev., I, p. 86.

⁵⁶ S. V. Venkateswara, *New Lights on the Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, p. 2.

son Ulugh Khan advanced in person and conducted the siege of the capital, but Pratāpa Rudra Deva defended admirably. The besiegers lost heavily by hot winds and severe weather. The army was considerably depleted by desertion and pestilence as well as in actual fight. The survivors were greatly dispirited. The prince raised the siege and returned. He was hotly pursued by the enemy who slaughtered his men. A number of his officers who had deserted him equally suffered at the hands of the enemy. In the following year, the prince came with a fresh army and renewed the siege. The successes of the prince over Wārāṅgal which was named Sultanpur were celebrated at Delhi.⁵⁷ The offer made to the Raja of Wārāṅgal describes the character of the Muhammadan invasions. He had to become a Mussalman, give up all earthly possessions to "the faithful" or put his neck under the sword. By 1323, Wārāṅgal was placed under permanent tribute and Muhammadan depredations were carried on as far as Rāmeśvaram, leaving garrisons at various places, chief of which was Madura. These Muhammadan conquests were devastating and subversive of Hindu civilisation. This provoked reaction. A scheme to transfer the capital to Deogiri was a result. The opposition to it strengthened.⁵⁸ In the meantime, the Sultan had been invited to intervene and decide the case of a disputed succession and, for this purpose, had marched across Bengal as far as Sonargon near Dacca. He left Bengal practically independent, although he brought with him to Delhi an important provincial prince as captive. In 1325, he died and was succeeded by his son Muhammad bin Tughlak.

Muhammad bin Tughlak ruled till 1351 A.D., *i.e.*, he was Sultan of Delhi for practically the whole period of our survey. V. A. Smith says: "The parricide⁵⁹ gathered the fruits of his crime and occupied the throne without opposition." He occupied it for twenty-six years characterised by a "tyranny as

⁵⁷ S. V. V., *New Lights*, p. 2.

⁵⁸ S. K. I., *Begs.*, pp. 167-70.

⁵⁹ Note :—This is questioned by many.

atrocious as any on record in the sad annals of human devilry and then died in his bed. Like Allaudin, he secured favour by lavish largess scattering without stint the golden treasures of his father."⁶⁰ He is described as one of the most astonishing kings mentioned in the records of the world. He was a mixture of opposites. He patronised learning and art and encouraged relief to the sick and needy on the one hand, while on the other his heavy exactions and grinding tyranny knew no limitations. Duties on the necessities of life left the fields uncultivated. Industrialists ceased to labour; farmers fled to the woods and lived by rapine. Currency was tampered with and inflated. Paper money was introduced. Capital was changed to Deogiri from Delhi and the removal of the population was enforced with untold and unimaginable horror. Later, the capital was changed again. The instability of government became widely known. Ferishta records: "Public credit could not long subsist in a state so liable to revolutions as Hindustan; for how could the people in the remote provinces receive for money, the base representative of a treasury that so often changed its master?"

His attempts to conquer Persia and China and the expenditure incurred in buying off the Moghul invaders were more than anything else responsible for the inflated currency of his day.⁶¹ Add to these mad projects, the personal pique which twice changed the capital to a distance of 700 miles. Of his reign, we have the contemporary records of the Muhammadan chronicler Ibn Batuta and of Alberuni. The occasion when Muhammad Tughlak undertook an invasion of the south, appears to have been considered propitious for a Hindu revolt in the Deccan country and for organising a powerful Hindu confederacy to meet the Muhammadan onrush. It is generally believed that Ballāla III, aided thereto by the contemporary Kākatiya king, brought this about. Ballāla III who had been taken as prisoner

⁶⁰ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 237.

⁶¹ Bev., I, pp. 89-90.

in 1310⁶² had returned by 1313.⁶³ Dorasamudra, his capital, had been rebuilt by 1316.⁶⁴ In the course of the next decade, Ballāla III is said to have been continuously active on his northern frontier, at Tiruvannāmalai, Vijayanagara or Hosapattana and elsewhere, quietly and unnoticed reorganising his resources. From 1328 onwards, he was carrying on a systematic campaign against the Sultanate of Madura.⁶⁵ Besides, early in Tughlak's reign, the Kerala ruler Ravivarman Kulasekhara had turned out the Muhammadan garrisons in the Tamil country.⁶⁶ The northern frontier of Ballāla's territory was in charge of a number of generals, three of whom happened to be brothers. They held the frontiers, from the west coast a little north of Goa right across up to the mouth of the river Krishna, successfully. The flank of the Muhammadan province of Deogiri was watched by the Kākatiyas, at the time nominally under tribute to Muhammad. Ballāla III was thus able to carry on a war in the south against the Madura rulers unmolested by any action of Muhammad till he fell fighting in 1342 at Beribi (Chirchi).⁶⁷ Ballāla IV followed soon after.⁶⁸

Muhammad Tughlak after putting down⁶⁹ rebellions and conspiracies in the headquarters of his dominions turned his attention to the south to reassert his authority there. He invaded both Wārangal and Dorasamudra about 1327-28 A.D. On this occasion, the Hoysala capital was left undisturbed when Ballāla delivered up the fugitive Bahāudin according to one account but according to another Dorasamudra was completely razed to the ground. A permanent garrison was located at Madura and it continued for seven years.⁷⁰ His

⁶² *E. C.*, V, Hassan 51-52.

⁶³ *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 68.

⁶⁴ *E. C.*, III, Md. 100.

⁶⁵ S. K. I., *Some Contributions*, p. 296.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 295.

⁶⁷ Ibn Batuta, Vol. IV, p. 198.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 297.

⁶⁹ S. K. I., *S. I. & M. I.*, pp. 128 and 130.

⁷⁰ S. K. I., *Some Contributions*, p. 295.

vast Empire now extended from Sonargon to Gujrat and Lahore to Ma'abar and he ruled over the largest empire of any Muhammadan ruler.

Muhammad's troubles in the north were not over. We have already narrated the circumstances which made his territories an active volcano. The southern rulers were thus able to gather their efforts together and carry on petty skirmishes on the frontier.

There was a Hindu revolt at Delhi in 1320 A.D. side by side with the disaffection in the army of the Deccan. Further, the Muhammadans of Bengal and of the Deccan were ever ready to rebel against the central power at Delhi. In Bengal, which was isolated from the south, they did not receive the assistance and co-operation of the Hindus in their efforts. But in the Deccan, where even the Hindu rulers had some of them employed Muhammadans in their armies, such help and co-operation as was required was at hand. It is said that the Hindu rebels at Delhi in 1320 A.D. were in secret understanding with the Rajas of the Deccan, nor is this improbable considering the number of hostages from amongst them at the Imperial court. There is further evidence of the fact that in response to a revolt at headquarters, there was insurrection and rebellion in the south. That was how Muhammad Tughlak as Crown Prince had suffered disaster in his first siege of Wāraugal when the traitorous officers in his army had joined its Hindu Raja.⁷¹

Muhammad Tughlak's invasion of the Deccan is variously accounted for. The idea of a central capital for all India including the south, exhibition of prowess of the Imperial arms, punishment of recalcitrant Hindu princes and a little quiet in the northern provinces are amongst these. The prospective conqueror of China, Persia, Nepal and other countries would further be anxious to have all India completely subject and submissive to his rule. The Yādava kingdom of Deogiri was a Muhammadan province and Muhammadan officers had been

⁷¹ Talboys Wheeler, *His. of Ind.*, Vol. IV, Pt. I, pp. 81-82.

appointed to rule over the Kākatiya territory of Wārangal. One of his nephews variously described but perhaps a cousin,⁷² Bahāudin Gustasp held a government as Viceroy of the Deccan. He rebelled against the Sultan, tempted to aspire to the throne on the wave of the prevailing general discontent. He openly raised the standard of revolt against Muhammad Tughlak. He had great influence in the country and consequently his rebellion assumed serious dimensions and spread throughout the Deccan. His efforts met with some initial successes. Bahāudin's rebellion at Sagar was the signal for other revolts elsewhere. Further, the establishment of a Muhammadan Sultanate under a Muhammadan governor at Madura may have also provoked the Hoysala and Kākatiya rulers to join their resources and make a stand for themselves.⁷³ The Sultan sent Khaja Jehan, the governor of Gujrat against Gustasp. A battle was fought near Deogiri in which Bahāudin was badly beaten. After suffering terrible loss, he is said to have fled to the Raja of Kampili in the Karnataka country for refuge. In the meantime, the Sultan had advanced in person as the rebel's position at Kampili was considered to be powerful and fixed Deogiri for his headquarters. It was then that, pleased with its situation and strength, he determined to change his capital, a change fraught with such dire consequences. The Raja of Anegondi—one of the chief princes of the infidels⁷⁴—sheltered the rebel nephew of the Sultan and advanced to Kampili to oppose him in person. After being twice defeated, the Sultan finally subdued the Raja who ran into the fastnesses of Anegondi situated amongst inaccessible mountains for refuge. Even that fortress did not long survive the siege of the Sultan's forces. The Raja of Kampili was captured and put in prison. According to Ibn Batuta, he commanded a great fire to be prepared and lit, into which his wives and

⁷² S. V. V., *New Lights*, p. 3.

⁷³ S. K. I., *Some Con.*, p. 296.

⁷⁴ S. V. V., *New Lights*, p. 3

children and others threw themselves to be saved from dishonour, while himself and a few of his followers fought to the end till the fortress was taken along with the inhabitants who were converted into Islam.⁷⁵

The Kampili Raja realised his dangerous situation ; his stores of grain were exhausted and he was in imminent peril of capture. He was resolved to die with his family and his trusted lieutenants. He advised Bahāudin to go to Ballāla who would defend him.⁷⁶ While, however, Bahāudin had managed to flee for protection to the court of the Ballāla who was then residing in his residential capital of Tonnur, the Sultan proceeded thither and Ballāla anticipating what was in store for him by a refusal, prudently delivered up the fugitive. Bahāudin was taken to Delhi and flayed alive. According to a description of this incident given by Ibn Batuta, "They bound his legs and tied his arms to his neck, and so conducted him to the Sultan. He ordered the prisoner to be taken to the women, his relations, and there insulted and spat upon him. Then he ordered him to be skinned alive, and, as his skin was torn off, his flesh was cooked with rice. Some was sent to his children and his wife, and the remainder was put into a great dish and given to the elephants to eat, but they would not touch it. The Sultan ordered his skin to be stuffed with straw, and to be placed along with the remains of Bahadur Bura,⁷⁷ and to be exhibited throughout the country," showing how traitors to the king would perish. Subsequently, the loathsome object was sent to the Governor of Sind who directed its burial. The Sultan was infuriated ; he pursued the Governor to death and had a *Kāzi* who had supported him flayed alive.⁷⁸

With these before us, we can easily see that the internal administration of Hindustan was rapidly drifting into ruin.

⁷⁵ Elliot, p. 614.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 614.

⁷⁷ A relative of Balban and claimant to the viceregal throne of Bengal.

⁷⁸ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 241.

Rigorous collection reduced the peasantry to beggary. People with anything at all had no recourse but to rebel. The Sultan vowed revenge and hatred against his own subjects. On one occasion, he "led forth his army to ravage Hindustan. He laid the country waste from Kanauj to Dalman (on the Ganges in Oudh) and every person that fell to his hands he slew. Many of the inhabitants fled and took refuge in the jungles, but the Sultan had the jungles surrounded, and every individual that was captured was killed."⁷⁹ The victims were mostly Hindus and this fact added to the pleasure of his chase. In the south of India, exaggerated accounts of even these proceedings circulated and it looked as if his intolerance, ambition and ferocity had no limitations whatever. The security of the ancient dynasties was shaken by the rapidly advancing terror of this kind. The result was inevitable, if the Hindus did not bestir themselves betimes. The Hindu states would be over-run, devastated, the royal families disappearing, followed with a certain destruction of the religion, temples, cities and whatever was worth living for and dying for, of the Hindus. As Talboys Wheeler says, the interval (1321-47 A.D.) was of profound significance. While a revolt was suppressed its causes were not removed; it was liable to break again. Muhammad's proceedings frightened the Rajas as well as the Muhammadan armies in the Deccan who broke into mutiny.

Of the revolutions in Bengal, on the Ma'abar coast, in Deogiri and in the South, the most formidable was that in the Deccan. A confederacy was organised with the avowed object of turning out the Muhammadans from South India. Whoever were the leaders had a clear vision and wonderful foresight. The campaign was eminently successful and a Hindu Empire was established at Vijayanagara, the site of the present ruins of Hampe.

This war was a patriotic struggle for the Hindus for mere existence and for the preservation of all that was cherished as sacred from a religious point of view.

⁷⁹ S. K. I., *Begs.*, p. 167.

We must also remember that the Delhi Sultanate had overgrown and become weak. The condition of affairs there was unsatisfactory. In the South, warlike feeling still possessed the people, who had lost power only recently. There was a chance for able adventurers which was fortunately utilised to the full and to the best and lasting advantage of the people concerned.

The condition of South India in this period of the fourteenth century may be broadly described as follows: On the north-west, the Yādavas of Deogiri (centre of a regular Muhammadan provincial administration) were on the line of the Narmada, and on the north-east, the Kākatiyas of Wārangal a subordinate Muhammadan kingdom could be said to bar invasion from the Bengal side and the Central Provinces. The Hoysalas of Dorasamudra once defeated by the Muhammadans bore the brunt of the trouble and formed the defence. To the south of them were the Pāṇḍyas feeling Muhammadan pressure. The Mussalman conquest of the south was not permanent. Under Muhammad Tughlak, the terrors of Islam began to wane and the Hindus of the south at last learned the folly of discord. Out of the chaos of the southern kingdoms, rose the Empire of Vijayanagara in 1336.⁸⁰

Vijayanagara

Why Vijayanagara was selected as the capital of the new found Empire is the next question for consideration.

The date of the foundation of Vijayanagara which subsequently formed a bulwark for the defence of Hindu rights cannot be exactly determined. According to Sewell,⁸¹ though the earliest settlement at Hampi cannot be assigned to any definite age, a town is said to have existed there as early as 1100 A.D. The poet Harihara refers to the Virūpākṣa temple in his works dated 1150-1250 A.D. The Dharmakarta of the Pampāpati temple asserts the existence of inscriptions and records to prove that in 1199 A.D. the great *gopura* of

⁸⁰ V. A. S., *Ox. His. of Ind.*, p. 242.

⁸¹ F. J. Richards, *Gazetteer of the Salem Dt.*, Vol. I, p. 64.

the first *Prākāra* was originally built. Fergusson⁸² dates the foundation as 1118 A.D. by Vijayarāyulu. This contradicts the Dharmakarta's account which places the commencement of the dynasty in 1336 A.D. (Ś. 1258), by Vidyā Rāmaswami (Vidyāranya).

Dr. R. Shama Sastri refers to a few inscriptions of the ancient kings of Anegondi.⁸³ He mentions Ś 910 and says that long before the Gajapathi Kings of Anegondi came on the scene, Hampe and Anegondi formed part of the famous Cālukyan Empire in the tenth century A.D., and that these parts were ruled by some Jaina princes.

According to Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao, Anegondi was in existence long prior to Vijayanagara and in the earlier periods of its history it was noted for considerable influence and power. Its chiefs were men of resource and even the early Muhammadan rulers had sought their assistance.⁸⁴ It was not a mere suburb. Besides, it had many natural advantages. The original name of the city where the ruins of Hampe now stand was Vijayanagara; it later became famous as Vidyānagara under the inspiration of the sage Vidyāranya.⁸⁵ Mr. Suryanarayana Rao considers Vijayanagara to have been founded about 1150 A.D. during the time of Vijayaditya, Anegondi having ceased to be the capital and the same to have been later revived as Vidyānagara in 1336 A.D.⁸⁶

According to Francis Buchanan, the Yādava dynasty of Vijayanagara is a matter of great curiosity and not yet well understood.⁸⁷ He refers to *Grāmapaddhati* and gives impossible dates like 493 A.D. for the foundation of Vijayanagara, near the old city of Anegondi, then wrested from the Turks. He later on cites Rāmappa's *Rāyapaddhati* and says⁸⁸ the

⁸² Sewell : *List of Anti., Mad.*, Vol. I, p. 106.

⁸³ *Ind. and Eastn. Arch.*, p. 374.

⁸⁴ *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 285.

⁸⁵ *Never to be Forgotten Empire*, Intro., p. 3.

⁸⁶ *Ib.*, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 11-12.

⁸⁸ *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 270.

Yavanas of Anegondi ruled there for fifty-four years till 836 A.D. Hoysalas took it from them and later changed their capital to Dorasamudra. Kampina Rāyas ruled at Anegondi for thirty years till the death of Komara Rāmanātha, (849-901 A.D.). Boji Rāyas, nine princes for 145 years, *i.e.*, 1062-3 A.D., were followed by eighteen princes of Āndhra descent for 211 years, till it became the property of the Mlechchas who were driven out in 1336 A.D.

If it be permissible to go still further back to the legendary period, it will be found that this was a part of the Kiṣkinda kingdom of Sugrīva, from which he was turned out by his brother Vāli. Rama, the celebrated hero of the Rāmāyaṇa, the great Hindu epic, befriended Sugrīva, first meeting him at the source of the Pampa or Tungabhadra river, where the famous Hindu Empire was afterwards to take its rise.⁸⁹ Names of places in the vicinity of Hampe are identical with those of the Rāmāyaṇa. Janamejaya Rāya, son of the emperor Parikṣit is said to have been ruling the kingdom from Hastināpura, in peace and wisdom, and whether the inscriptions be genuine or otherwise, the story is given. Heras seems to rely on them⁹⁰ but for the dates.⁹¹

The temple of Virūpākṣa is said to have existed in 1237 A.D.⁹² The temple can be seen to be a collection of buildings erected at different periods. The Bhuvaneśvari shrine appears to have been built in the Cālukyan style of about the eleventh or twelfth century, admittedly anterior to the art of Vijayanagara, and there are Jaina temples on the Hemakūta Hill.⁹³

Two inscriptions of Harihara I describe him as a chieftain ruling over Navakhaṇḍa with Kunjarakoṇa as capital.⁹⁴ Rev.

⁸⁹ *Ib.*, p. 280.

⁹⁰ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 277.

⁹¹ *E. C.*, VII, SK, 12, 45 and 86.

⁹² *A. S. I.*, 1925-26, p. 140.

⁹³ Longhurst, *Hampe Ruins*, p. 27.

⁹⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 10.

A. S. I., *Report*, 1925-26, p. 140.

N. D. I., I, No. 18 (Kapalur).

Heras remarks Navakhaṇḍa is not mentioned and suggests that references are not reliable but even he accepts the existence of the place as certain.⁹⁵

According to Dr. Fleet, the Vijayanagara inscriptions refer to the kingdom of Hastināvati or Hampe or Hampe-Hastināvati or Anegondi.⁹⁶ *Rājakālanirṇaya* refers to it as Hastina Kona, and an inscription of 1347 under Mārappa describes it as Hastini.⁹⁷

Prof. S. V. Venkateswara in his article "New Light on the Beginnings of Vijayanagara" refers to *Rājakālanirṇaya*. His account is partly based on this work. The authorship is ascribed to Vidyāranya, a disciple of Vidyāśankara. The origin of the empire is said to have been narrated in secrecy by Vidyāranya to his brother Bhārati Kṛṣṇa when the latter was the pontiff of Sringeri. From this account, we learn that the city of Vijayanagara was once famous in history but of late years had suffered a decline. The sage Vidyātirtha, i.e., Vidyāśankara, the preceptor of Vidyāranya, had decided to revive the glory of Vijayanagara and had taken up his abode at Mātangaparvata closeby. Mādhavācārya and his brother Sāyana, who had no issue, approached the sage in his *āśrama*, to implore him for progeny. Meanwhile, the two brothers, Harihara and Bukka, of the Kuru Vamśa, who were out on a hunting excursion also came there. These brothers were treasurer and secretary respectively of Pratāpa Rudra Deva of Wārangal. When the Sultan defeated that Raja and took him captive, they served as treasurers of the Raja Rāmanātha. A little while after, he too was slain and then the brothers were carried off by the Sultan's troops to Delhi. When they were subsequently released, they returned and took up their abode at Hastina Kona on the banks of the Tungabhadra river. According to the Professor, Harihara and Bukka, on their

⁹⁵ Heras, *Begs.*, p. 52.

⁹⁶ *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 377.

⁹⁷ *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.

meeting Vidyâtīrtha, became worshippers of the God Virūpākṣa at Hampi. This part of the *Rājakālonirnaya* will be considered a little later; the account, however, will show that there was existing previously to the origin of the Empire of Vijayanagara, a city not altogether unknown. We shall also presently see the connection of Ballāla III, the Hoysala Emperor of the time, with Vijayanagara.

The present tiny hamlet of Hampi grew up around the great and famous temple of Pampāpati on the southern bank of the tributary of the Perdore in the Hospet taluk of the Bellary district. The remains cover an area of nine square miles and a far larger area, if we should take into consideration the old fortifications and outposts. Anegondi in the Nizam's dominions across the Tungabhadra river formed a northern outpost of the city, Kampili serving as an eastern frontier of the famous capital. Of course, Hospet once formed part of the extensive imperial city, by the name of Nāgalapur, in honour of Nāgala Devi, a favourite courtesan of Krishnadeva Rāya. Mr. M. H. Ramasarma in a very interesting article on "The Vestiges of Kummaṭa"⁹⁸ refers to Bahadur Baṇḍe, Kudure Kallu, Mādigara Hampayyana Guḍḍa (named after one of Kumāra Rāmanātha's generals) and Hale Kummaṭa, and to the fortifications of Hosa Kummaṭa in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to Kumāra Rāmana Durga and the elephant stables. Perhaps, they were included among the suburbs of Vijayanagara.

I believe that Vijayanagara, just before its emergence as a capital of the most powerful Hindu Empire of the south under Harihara and Bukka, was familiarly known as Hosa-pattana and was a residential capital of Ballāla III, then Hoysala emperor. A number of inscriptions of the period describe Ballāla as having been in the *nelevidu* of Hosapattana. I further think that it was in the Hoysala country and that Harihara and Bukka were themselves chieftains under the

⁹⁸ *Q. J. M. S.*, XX, pp. 261-270.

Hoysalas in all probability. I am aware Mr. Rice says Hosapattana was not in the Hoysala country,⁹⁹ but I am inclined to agree with Father Heras who accepts the view of Sir Walter Elliot.

Vijayanagara was a part of the Kuntala kingdom and Vinayāditya Hoysala was the ornament of the Kuntala dominions.¹⁰⁰ Vijayanagara belonged to Kuntala, a district of the Karnataka country.¹⁰¹ Inscriptions of the time of Devarāya II, 1430 A.D., describe Vijayanagara as situated in the Kuntala country ;¹⁰² in the midst of the Karnataka Deśa, which was the abode of all wealth and which equalled heaven.¹⁰³ In the time of Acyutarāya also, 1538, Vidyānagara belonged to the government of Kuntaladeśa,¹⁰⁴ and likewise under Sadāśiva in 1555.¹⁰⁵ Prof. Venkateswara says that Harihara and Bukka on their release by the Muhammadans set up a kingdom at Anegondi (Hastinakonapura), included in the Kuntala Deśa for several years.¹⁰⁶

Dr. R. Shama Sastri seeks to identify Hosapattana of the inscriptions with Sakrepattana in the Chikmagalur taluk of the district of Kadur ;¹⁰⁷ but no one before him has done so. Hosapattana was also called Hosahampeyapattana.¹⁰⁸

If we come to the inscriptions of Ballāla III, we find Penukonda was a part of the Hoysala dominions. In 1328, Mācayadannāyaka was ruling at Penukonda as a Hoysala Viceroy. A son of Ballāla III, known as Vira Virūpākṣa Ballāla or Vira Vijaya Virūpākṣa was crowned at Hosapattana.¹⁰⁹

⁹⁹ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1923, p. 35.

¹⁰⁰ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 155-56, No. 152, verses 25 26.

¹⁰¹ *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 29.

¹⁰² *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 160-64, No. 153 at p. 164.

¹⁰³ *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 45.

¹⁰⁴ *E. C.*, XI, Cl. 54.

¹⁰⁵ S.V.V., *New Lights*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1927, p. 62.

¹⁰⁷ *South Indian Report of Epigraphy*, 1927, p. 112, No. 8, date 1340.

¹⁰⁸ *E. C.*, IX, Cm. 105, Bn. 111.

¹⁰⁹ *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 43.

This prince, afterwards Ballāla IV, was familiarly known as Hampiah or Hampe Vodeyar. In 1339 A.D., Ballāla III was ruling in happiness at Sri Vira Vijaya Virūpākṣa Pura as his residential capital, and was sole monarch by his own valour.¹¹⁰ There are, besides, inscriptions at Hampe referring to the Hoysalas, implying thereby that Hampe was part of the Hoysala Empire.¹¹¹ In 1355, it was Bukka's capital and in the Hoysala country; and a number of Vijayanagara inscriptions refers to Hosapattana.¹¹² Bukka ascends and reigns from the great throne of the new Vijayanagara.¹¹³ Having conquered the whole world, he built a splendid city, the city of victory, and became Mahārājādhirāja.¹¹⁴ He inhabited the city that bore the name Vijaya.¹¹⁵ He made Vijayanagara his permanent metropolis.¹¹⁶

Hosapattana was apparently known also as Hosabetṭa,¹¹⁷ Hosanād,¹¹⁸ where Ballāla III was ruling. Hospet of modern times cannot be a corruption of Hosapattana and even if it be, it will not negative obviously our hypothesis.

Even a cursory glance at the inscriptions of Ballāla III¹¹⁹ will show the importance attached by him to Hosapattana, which is identical with Vijayanagara and the present ruins of Hampe.

What was the reason for Ballāla III attaching so much importance to Hosapattana? We have already recounted

¹¹⁰ *Mad. Ep. Rep.* A2 of 1914.

¹¹¹ *A. S. I. Rep.*, 1907-08, p. 240, n. 3.

¹¹² *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281, 1368.

¹¹³ *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256.

¹¹⁴ *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, XII, p. 373.

¹¹⁵ *E. C.*, II, p. 115, n. 9.

¹¹⁶ *E. C.*, IX, Nl. 9, 1333.

¹¹⁷ *E. C.*, IX, Db. 13.

¹¹⁸ *E. C.*, IX, M. 9.

IX, Ht. 43.

V, Ak. 66.

IX, Db. 13.

IX, Db. 21.

¹¹⁹ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XIV, Pt. ii, p. 518.

in the preceding pages the fate that overtook the kingdoms of the south from the campaigns of Allauddin onwards, and the efforts of the Hindu Rajas to prevent Muhammadan advance for the preservation of the Hindu religion. Ballāla's multiplication of capitals at Tiruvannamalai and Hosapattana must have been to secure the frontiers of his Empire against foreign aggression and to be in touch with the other Hindu Rajas. The northern frontier was a vulnerable portion of his dominions and the Raja of Wārangal had been proceeded against in 1326. Like Unnamale on the eastern frontier, strategy required his continuous presence on this side to guard against any onrush of the Muhammadan army.

The distinguished geologist, Lt. Newbold in 1845 described the ruins in these words: "The whole of the extensive site occupied by the ruins of Bijjanugger on the south bank of the Tumbuddra, and of its suburb Anegundi on the northern bank, is occupied by great, bare piles of bosses and granite and granitoid gneiss, separated by rocky defiles and narrow rugged valleys encumbered by precipitated masses of rock. Some of the larger flat-bottomed valleys are irrigated by aqueducts from the river..... The peaks, towers and logging stones of Bijjanugger and Anegundi indent the horizon in picturesque confusion, and are scarcely to be distinguished from the more artificial ruins of the ancient metropolis of the Grecian, which are usually constructed with blocks quarried from their sides, and lie in grotesqueness of outline and massiveness of character with alternate airiness and solidity exhibited by nature in the nicely poised logging stones and columnar piles, and in the walls of the prodigious cuboidal blocks of granite which often crest and top her massive domes and ridges in natural cyclopean masonry."¹²⁰ The great city of Vijayanagara was situated near very steep mountains. It had a circumference of over sixty miles. The walls of the fortress were carried up to the hills, enclosing the valleys at their foot.

¹²⁰ Sewell. *For. Emp.*, p. 6.

"If a straight line be drawn on the map of India from Bombay to Madras," says Sewell in his monumental work, *The Forgotten Empire*,¹²¹ "about halfway across will be found the river Tungabhadra, formed of two rivers, Tunga and Bhadra, which flows in a wide circuit north and east to join the Krishna not far from Kurnool. In the middle of its course, the Tungabhadra cuts through a wild rocky country lying about forty miles north-west of Bellary, and north of the railway line from Bellary to Dharwar." It is certain that Anegondi was in existence as a fortified town about 1330 A.D. the residence of a family of chiefs in possession of a small state. In the earlier days, the lofty hills of granite in the area must have been utilised by them for erecting a strong fortress with its base on the stream. The advantage of the stream was that it was not fordable at any point within many miles from that place, the water was running in it throughout the year and in all seasons and during times of flood, it would overflow its banks besides forming a turbulent rushing torrent with dangerous falls at several points in its course.¹²²

After the fall of the Anegondi chiefs, who probably were feudatories of the Hoysalas, the Hindu Rajas must have felt the other side of the Tungabhadra river more secure for defence against the Muhammadan invaders from the north. Anegondi was a good defence against southern advances because of the river between an hostile army and the Anegondi kingdom, but it was found powerless to resist an attack from the north. It must therefore be that Ballāla III and Harihara after him realised the importance of a river frontier and raised a capital at Vijayanagara.

III

Foundation of Vijayanagara

The importance and ancient glory of Anegondi has already been briefly referred to. The chiefs of Anegondi, though Hoysala feudatories in later days, probably existed as a ruling

¹²¹ *Ib.*, p. 6.

¹²² *Ib.*, p. 6.

dynasty for about 700 years before 1350 A.D. The Pampāpati temple points to Hoysala influence and excels others in the matter of style. From the hill above, it even to-day presents a fine picture. One of the first kings, if not the first, of the Anegondi kingdom, according to the *Rāya Vamśāvali* referred to by Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao, was Nandamaharaja (date 1014 A.D.), while the transfer of the capital to Vijayanagara across the river was effected by Vijayadhvaaja in 1150 A.D.¹²³ He would thus be the founder of the old Vijayanagara. Inscriptional references are lacking to verify this identification. However this may be, the existence of the Pampāpati or Virūpākṣa temple, at a period long anterior to the foundation of the city by the illustrious brothers, is a fact beyond dispute. Even Father Heras accepts the genuineness of the inscriptions and the veracity of the legends and traditions in so far as they relate to the existence of the temple.¹²⁴ Sewell in his *List of Antiquarian Remains*¹²⁵ says Kapamaharaja was a predecessor of the Vijayanagara kings and, as related by tradition, built the original fort of Gandi Koṭa which was later on strengthened by the rajas of Vijayanagara. Unfortunately, again, this piece of information lacks authority. The monkey flag and the Kapidhvaja kingdom are, however, referred to by Rice,¹²⁶ though the reference cannot be to the rulers of these parts. Following Sewell, we further find the Pampāpati temple *dharmakarta* stating that in 1199 A.D. a certain 'Bodayya Raja' made a charitable gift of Hampe to the temple.¹²⁷ This prince could not be the same one referred to as Bodha Mahadeva in a Mudigere inscription,¹²⁸ for the date of the latter is 1371 A.D.

¹²³ *N. F. E.*, pp. 11-12.

¹²⁴ *Beg. Vij. His.*, p. 52.

¹²⁵ Vol. I, p. 123.

¹²⁶ Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 277.

¹²⁷ *L. A. M.*, p. 106.

¹²⁸ *E. C.*, VI, Mg. 87. Bukka is the ruler of Bodhamahadeva Durga.

It must be admitted that exploration work on the ruins of Hampe has not been complete ; nor has the last word been said on the subject. The Vijayanagara temples present an architectural change, by a process of natural evolution, since the seventh century, traceable century after century and there is no break in continuity and no intrusion in the style of architecture.¹²⁹ It may well be that the hills and crags in the vicinity of the upper fortress of Anegondi will yet disclose facts confirming legend and tradition in material particulars. Kampili was an outpost of the capital of which Hospet and Anegondi formed a part in the palmy days of the Vijayanagara Empire.

Mr. Suryanarayana Rao gives what I cannot but describe as somewhat more than even legendary and refers to the Vāli Bhandāra or treasure-house of Vāli. Two huge boulders are placed one upon the other in horizontal fashion, near the temple of Gavi Ranganātha, about a mile from Anegondi, to the west of that place. It is said that a strong masonry gate on the eastern side of the hill, a high mound of a bony-like substance, surrounded by two high towers on either side, leads to the ruins of an apparently very old palace. The hill top is covered with cement flooring. Mr. Rao conjectures this was the place where the rajas of Vijayanagara in their earliest days buried treasure.¹³⁰ At most, an inference as to the importance of the place may be possible from this reference.

Who founded Vijayanagara ? The question still remains unanswered. The following extract from Sewell¹³¹ needs no apology for reproduction. " On the rocks above the Hampe temple, close to a group of more modern Jaina temples, is to be seen a small shrine built entirely, roof as well as walls, of stone. Everything about this little relic proves it to be of greater antiquity than any other structure in the whole circuit of the hills, but its exact date is doubtful. It looks like a

¹²⁹ *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. V, p. 154. See Sewell, *F. E.*

¹³⁰ *N. F. E.*, p. 15.

¹³¹ *F. E.*, p. 20.

building of the seventh century A.D. It is quite possible that the shrine may have been used by a succession of recluses, the last of whom was the great teacher Mādhava. If we stand on that rock and imagine all the great ruins of the city visible from thence, the palaces and temples, the statues and towers and walls, to be swept out of existence, we have around us nothing but nature in one of her wildest moods—lofty hills near and far, formed almost entirely on the farther side, where dwelt the chiefs of Anegondi, and was just such as would have been chosen for their abode by the ascetics of former days, who loved to dwell in solitude and isolation amid scenes of grandeur and beauty.

“ We shall, however, in all probability never know whether this hermit,¹³² whose actual existence at the time is attested by every tradition regarding the origin of Vijayanagara, was really the great Mādhava or another less celebrated sage on whom by a confusion of ideas his name has been foisted. Some say that Mādhavācārya lived entirely at Sringeri.”¹³³

After recounting the several traditions regarding the origin of the Vijayanagara Empire, to which we shall presently advert, Sewell concludes the most reasonable one to be what will be consistent with Hindu legends and historical fact. Two brothers, Hindus of the *Kuruba* caste, who were men of strong religious feeling, serving in the treasury of the king of Wārangal, fled from that place on its sack and destruction in 1323 A.D. and took service under the petty Raja of Anegondi. Both they and their chiefs were filled with horror and disgust at the conduct of the marauding Moslems, and pledged themselves to the cause of their country and their religion. They rose to be minister and treasurer respectively at Anegondi. About 1334 A.D. they gave shelter to Bahāudin and were consequently attacked by the Sultan of Delhi. Anegondi fell as recorded by Ibn Batuta, and the Sultan retired, leaving Malik Kafur as his deputy to rule. The General found the

¹³² *i.e.*, Vidyāranya.

¹³³ *F. E.*, p. 20.

people too strong for him and eventually the Sultan restored the country to the Hindus, raising to be raja and minister respectively the two brothers who had been formerly minister and treasurer. These were Harihara and Bukka.¹³⁴

Another view is that Ballāla III was responsible for the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and that Harihara and Bukka were feudatories of the Hoysalas under him. Apart from the temple, there was no town in existence on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra river up to the beginning of the fourteenth century and with Anegondi as a nucleus, the new foundation was made. A large number of inscriptions has been collected since Sewell's day and the general consensus of opinion appears to favour this view.

According to a third account, Harihara and Bukka, officers of the king Pratāpa Rudra of Wārangal on its sack in 1323 A.D. escaped with a small body of horse to the mountain fastnesses of Anegondi, accompanied by Vidyāranya and by some means, not stated, became lords of that tract and subsequently founded Vijayanagara. How fugitives from a conquered kingdom and captured capital could all at once establish themselves in a foreign country requires explanation here.

Another suggestion made is that they were in the service of the Muhammadan governor after the first capture of Wārangal in 1309 A.D. Malik Kafur sent them against Ballāla III in 1310 A.D. Their section of the army was defeated, when they fled into the Anegondi region. There they met the holy Mādhava and by the aid of this recluse they founded Vijayanagara. Inscriptions attest the fact that after 1310 A.D. Ballāla III was constantly moving about in his vast dominions, perhaps organising a defence. Off and on, he was staying at Hosapattana where he even crowned his son Ballāla IV. If the brothers were in the service of the Anegondi chiefs and if the latter were at war with the Hoysala, some explanation will be forthcoming in support of this idea. This question needs a somewhat detailed examination, later on.

¹³⁴ *F. E.*, see p. 23.

There is yet another inference, *viz.*, that taking advantage of a little freedom secured in the course of Kafur's campaign against Dorasamudra, the Harihara brothers determined to free themselves from the foreign yoke. They had felt the humiliation of service under their Muhammadan conquerors, daily witnesses to their extortion and cruelty, and patriotism and love of Hindu *dharma* and religion triumphed with the result that "they abandoned the fleshpots of Egypt to throw in their luck with their co-religionists."

We shall reserve the consideration of the part played, if any, by Vidyāraṇya in the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire for a subsequent occasion. We shall now proceed to consider what had (1) the Yādavas of Deogiri, (2) the rajas of Anegondi, Kampila and Kummaṭa durga, (3) the Kākatiyas of Wāraṅgal, and (4) the Hoysala Ballālas of Dorasamudra to do with the origin of the Vijayanagara Empire. This involves a consideration, incidentally, of the position which Harihara and Bukka occupied towards their contemporaries and towards the Sultan of Delhi.

The contribution of the Yādavas of Deogiri, if any, consists in their relationship to Harihara and Bukka, of which we shall also have to speak later in connection with the origin of the Sangama dynasty. The Raja of Anegondi, on seeing the advance of the Muhammadan army, is said to have crossed the Tungabhadra and fled to Crynmata which had been previously fortified.

What is this Crynmata referred to by Nuniz in his accounts? Prof. Venkateswara refers to it as Sri-maṭha or Sringeri Maṭha thereby suggesting the reference as undoubtedly to Sringeri and the Gurus there. No other scholar has so far adopted his view and I believe we have to look for an identification in the vicinity of the Hampe ruins, if not in the ruins themselves. I have already referred to the suggestion that the fortress containing the treasure of the king of Besnāga¹³⁵ may have been Kampili or Anegondi. It is rather unfortunate that

¹³⁵ Sewell, *F. E.*, p. 294.

Mr. Suryanarayana Rao's account of the origin of the Vijayanagara Empire taken from the *Rāya Vamsāvali* in the possession of the rajas of Anegondi is of somewhat doubtful value ; for, we find the *Vamsāvali* confusing as regards the accounts of contemporary families and the lack of historical material with which to test the accounts given there is a great handicap. Rev. Heras not only doubts its authenticity from the circumstance that it refers to the story of Vidyāranya but he says that several of the grants referred to are antedated and spurious, calculated to spread the belief that the ancient kings of Anegondi were of the same family as the kings of Vijayanagara and he concludes that the subject of the kings of Anegondi was very attractive to forgers and king-fabricators. I am aware of the general remark, acknowledged to be well-founded in many cases, that numerous grants of the Vijayanagara kings are forged ones. But we must not forget that the very same authorities recognise the existence of numerous genuine grants of these kings. We need not follow Heras in his dissertation on this subject;¹³⁶ for, after all, the genuineness or otherwise of a grant depends upon several circumstances and even where a grant is an acknowledged forgery, it may nevertheless be registering a real tradition or a true fact.

We shall leave aside, for a moment, the story that the Anegondi ruling family was in existence for a period of 700 years before 1354. We shall take it that there was a war on Nagumdym, which was strongly fortified, that its king exercised great power and had many troops and that he fled to Crynmata on a river bank on spying the Muhammadan army advance against his kingdom. To follow Nuniz's account further, in a desperate fight, after a twelve years' war, all were killed except six old men who were a minister of the king of Anegondi, another his treasurer and the rest his principal officers. At their request, the body of the king who was killed was conveyed very honourably to the city of Anegondi where he is still worshipped as a saint. The king is generally regarded

¹³⁶ *Begs.*, pp. 53-54.

to have been Kumāra Rāmanātha of Kampili. There is a record at Hampe on a stone pillar in the pagoda of Prasanna Virūpākṣa on the Hemakūṭa Hill dated 1309 A.D. and it is suggested that perhaps the name of the canonised Rāmanātha accounts for the Sri Rāmanātha temple¹³⁷ and for the signature 'Sri Rāmanātha' in the copper plate grant of Bhūpati Odeyar.¹³⁸ If we follow this account, we shall have to agree with what is contained in Ibn Batuta. Harihara and Bukka were released and sent to the South with a large following to defend them from any one who should desire to do them an injury. I have already sufficiently discussed how far such a thing was likely to have taken place. The explanation given that Enibiquymelly, the Moorish Governor of the place who remained there, was unable to maintain order; that the people revolted and that, there being no other alternative, the Delhi Sultan decided upon restoration upon a pledge of fealty does not appear probable. The Yavanas referred to in the *Grāma Paddhati* of Buchanan may be as legendary as the legendary hero Gangarāja of Anegondi family.¹³⁹ For, according to these traditional accounts, apart from the gross misfit in dates, a daughter of Gangarāja II marries Bue' Raia, Raja of Nagara-Caray, one coss east from Madura and Hucca-bucca builds Vijayanagara as Hariharaya. He was, besides, a messenger in the train of Śankaradevarāya, a prince sent to visit Tuluva by Campi Raya of Penukonda who drove out the Mlechhas in 506 A.D. It is difficult to say whether this statement implies that the Deogiri Yādava was sent by the Raja of Kampili to Ballāla's court. According to another tradition recorded by Buchanan on 17th February 1801,¹⁴⁰ Harihararaya's conquest was in 1335-36. Yādavas of Anegondi reigned for 54 years; Campina Rayas for 30 years. Then Daria Soructa cut off Campina Komāra Rāmanātha's head in 849-901 A.D. If we take the story to be true and approximate

¹³⁷ *E. C.*, VI, Md. 25.

¹³⁸ *E. C.*, XI, Ml. 31.

¹³⁹ Buchanan, Vol. II, pp. 268-70.

¹⁴⁰ *Ib.*, p. 277-78.

the dates we know of for several of the recorded incidents, we shall find that at this period when Kumāra Rāmanātha was slain, Pratāpa Rudra's kingdom was under the Muhammadans and, likewise, Deogiri. The account continues that thereafter Hucca and Bucca, both the *Bhandāra Cāvilas* (*gollars*) of Pratāpa Rudra, came to Sri Mahāvidyāraṇya Mahāsvāmi (who, according to Ramappa, was guru to the late king, and the eleventh successor of Śankarācārya on the throne at Sringeri) and solicited his favour. The Mahāsvāmi visited God and acted according to his orders. In seven years, the whole city was fully built.¹⁴¹ In the year *Dātu*, being 1258 of the era of Śālivāhana (1335–36 A.D.), on the seventh day of the moon in the month of Vaiśāka, being Wednesday under the constellation of *Mocca*, in *Abhijñ Muhūrtha*, and in *Singa lagna*, he took Hucca and Bucca, the guards of the treasury of Pratāpa Rudra. To the man he gave *Pattavuncutty*, act of crowning (a ceremony like our coronation) and gave him the name of Harihara Rāyaru. The whole kingdom was given to him in the year of *Kaliyuga* 4437 corresponding to 1335–36 A.D.

In another account, as given by Rāmappa, according to Buchanan again,¹⁴² after the overthrow of their master, Pratāpa Rudra Deva, Harihara and Bucca took the opportunity of establishing a kingdom in the southern parts of the countries which formerly belonged to princes of Andhra descent and to the southern provinces of Pratāpa Rudra, added those of Ballāla Rāyas. They undertook a pilgrimage to Rāmeśvaram and, while on their way, met the Guru of the late king at Hampe, a village on the opposite side of the river from Anegondi, where Vijayanagara was subsequently to be built. When they conferred with this mighty Brahmin, he retired into a celebrated temple of Śiva, who is worshipped in Hampe under the name of Vira-pacsha.¹⁴³ Here the God was consulted

¹⁴¹ This is considered improbable by Sewell.

¹⁴² *Ib.*, p. 282.

¹⁴³ Virūpākṣa.

and the Brahmin declared that he was ordered by the deity to crown Hucca and to build Vijayanagara. Ferishta is then referred to. There is no evidence forthcoming who the late king was. Could it be Rāmanātha, or Ballāla III? It is difficult to say as the date is not known.

On April 5, 1801, at page 416 of his Journey, Buchanan gives another *Rāya paddhathi*, according to which Worangallu Pratāpa Rāya was the son of Campila Rāya who was the son of Comāra Raja.¹⁴⁴

This was up to S. 1150 or 1227 A.D. Then, in the year Sarvadhāri of this Raja Worangallu Pratāpa Rāya, the house guards of the treasury were Harihara and Bucca Rāya, who came to Vijayanagara. This year, on Monday the 5th of *Caitra*, they placed the pillar (a ceremony similar to the laying of a foundation stone) for building Vijayanagara and the Rajas were placed on a throne of jewels. A copy of the original account is said to be in the archives of the Bengal Government Secretariat as in the previous instance. Buchanan gives one more account on p. 534 in which again Pratāpa Rudra figures prominently.

Mr. A. R. Slater discusses the theory of Harihara and Bukka having been vassals of the Delhi Sultan at one time; he considers that they were perhaps serving under the Anegondi Rajas; and he finally concludes that Wārangal, Dorasamudra and Anegondi joined in a confederacy to stem the tide of Muhammadan aggression in the South.¹⁴⁵

Enough has been said in the previous lectures to show that Deogiri was not in a position to render any open assistance to the Hindu rebels in this part of the country, for the Delhi Sultan was still at Deogiri during this period. So far as Pratāpa Rudra Deva, the Raja of Wārangal is concerned, after the sack of his kingdom and his death, it was impossible to expect any help from that quarter, although there is an

¹⁴⁴ F. N. This account strangely connects the Kākatiyas also with the Kampili chiefs and we shall soon find Harihara and Bukka also connected by relationship with all the three kingdoms.

¹⁴⁵ Q. J. M. S., II, p. 49.

account suggesting Kanya Nāyak's apostasy from Islam and the loss of Kambila. But, it may be possible that private negotiations and intriguing may have been going on with a view to help Ballāla to establish Hindu supremacy in the South. So far as Anegondi, Kampili and Kummaṭa Durga are concerned, it has to be remembered that the Kampili kingdom was destroyed by the Muhammadans in 1327 and annexed to the Delhi Empire. If this was the result of a twelve years' war, there could have been no opportunity for the rulers of these places to take any decisive part in the origin of empire at all events.

Before we proceed, however, to the activities of the Hoysalas in the great foundation, we may consider at some length, one or two matters. It may be mentioned, at the outset, that according to Dr. Venkata Ramanayya, who has published two articles in the Christian College Magazine and subsequently in book form, Konkan and Malerajya were parts of the Yādava kingdom of Deogiri.¹⁴⁶ On the death of Śankara Deva in 1312 A.D., they passed into the hands of the rajas of Kampili. There was bitter enmity between them and the Hoysalas.¹⁴⁷ In 1327 A.D., Kampili rajya was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate.

Then, again, Harihara and Bukka were growing in importance and were in a position to declare their independence about 1340 A.D.¹⁴⁸ Epigraphical evidence when tested by the narratives of the Muhammadan chroniclers and Portuguese travellers will not, to follow this writer, conclusively establish the theory of Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar that Ballāla employed Harihara and Bukka to command the impenetrable barriers of garrisons against the Bahamani invasions¹⁴⁹ and that the Hoysalas conquered Madura under Ballāla. For, apart from

¹⁴⁶ *Xn. Coll. Mag.*, Oct. 1929. Also *Kampili and Vijayanagara*. Cf. *A. S. I.*, 1907, pp. 235-37. An article contributed by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri.

¹⁴⁷ *Ib.*, p. 15.

¹⁴⁸ *Ib.*, p. 20. Compare also Venkataramanayya, *Vijayanagara : Origin of the City and the Empire*.

¹⁴⁹ *S. I. M. I.*, pp. 181-82.

the absence of literary or popular traditions in support of such a theory, Ballāla's frontiers as a matter of fact never extended beyond the frontiers of modern Mysore and there were three wars between Kampila and Ballāla III, according to the inscriptions. Ballāla never, therefore, conquered these territories and had no opportunity of placing any garrisons there. The fact, therefore, that in 1352 A.D. three Hindu chieftains Horaib, Kapraz and Kampraz were governing the territory extending to the south of the Bahamani Kingdom from the Konkan Coast to the east of Bijapur while Mārappa and Muddappa were ruling the Maḷe and Mulbagal rajyas will not lead us to infer that they were protecting the Hoysala Empire from the north.

Mr. M. H. Ramasharma has contributed a series of very interesting and highly instructive articles to the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* on the same intriguing subject. He has based his accounts on certain manuscripts, brought to light for the first time and a personal and detailed inspection of the locality.

From the account of Kumāra Kampana's conquests, we learn that Kampana proceeded from his viceregal headquarters at Mulbagal into the Tondaimandalam of the Sambhuvarāyans and, with the help of Gopanna and Saluva Mangu, swept the country clear of Muhammadan garrisons throughout the localities, killed the Muhammadan governor of Madura and restored Srirangam. Mr. Sharma says that the exact political condition of South India during this period and the gathering together of the southern states under Vijayanagara can be gleaned from the following: (i) *Kamparāyacaritam* or Madhura Vijayam by Ganga Devi, wife of Kampana. It is also called the epic of Gangadevi. (ii) *Jaimini Bhārataṃ* in Telugu. (iii) *Saluva-abhyudayam* in Sanskrit. (iv) *Rāma-abhyudayam* in Sanskrit. (v) Vaiṣṇava works on hagiology, *Prapannāmṛtam*, *Ācārya Sūkti Muktaṃvali*. (ii) to (v) confirm the epic of Gangadevi. (vi) Nanjunda's *Paradāra-Sōdara-Rāmanāthana Kathe*, Madras MSS. No. 1525, 18-22-9 Catalogue: Oriental Manuscripts Library. (vii) *Rājakālanirṇaya*, Madras Oriental

MSS. Library. (viii) *Śiva Tattva Ratnākara* in Sanskrit. Basappa Nāika of Keladi (1698–1715), and (ix) Inscriptional references.

It is unfortunate that the series of articles contributed by Messrs. Sharma and Venkata Ramanayya were not available to Rev. Father Heras, or he would certainly have brought to bear upon them his penetrating analysis.

Nanjunda's account in *Paradāra Sōdara Rāmanāthana Katha* describes the second attack on Kummaṭa by the Sultan's troops under Nemi Malluka, in order to proceed to Karnāta and destroy Kummaṭa. Preparations were made on a vast scale on either side. The Sultan's army crossed the river Kṛṣṇa and advanced against Kummaṭa Durga which was strongly fortified by Kampila. There was an unexpected night attack on the Sultan's forces and in the morning the fortress was besieged on three sides and brought Kampila on the scene. The besiegers were driven out, Rāmanātha's sudden presence unnerving the Muhammadans who were compelled speedily to withdraw. After this victory, Rāmanātha rejoined Kampila. The Sultan was very much displeased when Nemikhan arrived at Delhi and narrated these events. Thereupon, a woman Mātangi undertook to proceed to Kummaṭa and Hosamalé, humiliate Kampila and bring Rāmanātha captive. On hearing this, Rāmanātha still further strengthened the fortifications of Kummaṭa. In the early struggles, the besiegers were unsuccessful but before the final assault, there was an offer made to Rāmanātha to surrender Bahadur Khan¹⁵⁰ and to marry the Sultan's daughter but he did not agree. Another unsuccessful attempt was thereupon made. Then, Brahmin disciples of Vādi Vidyānanda¹⁵¹ were sent to him to Maleyakheda repeating the proposals which were again rejected. A terrible war ensued with mutual slaughter on the battlefield. Bhava Sangama fought on the side of Rāmanātha. At last, the Muhammadans succeeded, the town was in flames, Rāmanātha lost heart, *Johor* was prepared for the ladies, and valuables were collected and sent to his brother Katanna and Bahadur

¹⁵⁰ i.e., Bahāudin.

¹⁵¹ Looks a Vaiṣṇava name.

Khana. A fresh charge was made with surprising vigour by Katanna, Bahadura, Sangama and Rāmanātha in the centre. In the melee, Sangama deva, Katanna and the brave young Bahadura fell and Rāmanātha himself was killed by an unknown hand. Mātangi took triumphantly the dead body of Rāmanātha which was subsequently retured to Kummaṭa. This is the portion of the account which is of some historical interest to us. Vādi Vidyānanda, Mātangi and Bhava Sangama are new names first appearing in this account. A new place Hosamalé is also mentioned.

In *Cannabasava Purāṇa*, a Kannada work completed about 1584 a king Kampila is referred to as ruling in Hosamalé. His son Rāmanātha was building Kummaṭadurga. From there, he was carrying on depradations into the neighbouring territories and was famous. On hearing this, the Sultan of Delhi despatched 90,000 horse to Kummaṭa and in the war that followed the city was destroyed.¹⁵² Another work of Lingaṇṇa Kavi, *Keladi Nṛpa Vijaya*, refers to the vast prowess in arms of Kumāra Rāmanātha, son of Kampila Rāya,¹⁵³ while *Rājakāla-nirṇaya*¹⁵⁴ says that subsequently to the fall of Virarudra (the Kākatiya), two persons of *Kuru Vamśa*, a treasurer and usher went to Rāmanātha and joined service under him as guardians of the treasury. *Śiva Tattva Ratnākara* repeats this version, and refers to the place as Silāpuri. Young Bahadura who died in the fight according to Nanjunda's account is identified with Bahāuddin of Ibn Batuta by Ramasharma. His account is thus: "After the fall of Pratāpa Rudra of Wārangal, two persons (Hukka and Bukka) fled southwards and took service under Kumāra Rāmanātha, son of a certain Kampila. The Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad bin Tughlak, according to Nuniz, having heard of Kumāra Rāmanātha's exploits, sent a big

¹⁵² Kānda 5 : Chap. 9 : verses 77 and 78.

¹⁵³ *Mysore Oriental Library*, Chap. IX, verse 30 ; *Q. J. M. S.*, XX, p. 9.

¹⁵⁴ *Mad. Or. MSS. Lib. See Kampili and Vijayanagara. Appendix A*, p. 34.

army to crush his growing powers. At this news, both father and son retired to a newly built fortress called by various names, Kuṇmaṭi, Kummaṭe, Crynmaṭa and even Silāpuri. Here, Rāmanātha put up a heroic defence ; but being overpowered, was finally killed."

Mr. Ramasharma says that Hosamalé is south of the Virūpākṣa temple and covered with a forest. The great hill of Hosadurga or Hosamaledurga or Canniga Rāmana durga was in the middle of this forest and close to this was another town Kummaṭa or Kummaṭadurga.¹⁵⁵ He considers Silāpuri also to be in the vicinity.

We may, in passing, refer to the ancestry of Kumāra Rāmanātha. According to the accounts contained in the articles from which we have now been freely drawing, it will be found that Rājādbirāja Rāmadeva of Deogiri had four sons of whom the last was outcasted. When Deogiri was captured by the Muhammadans, this prince entered service with the ruler of Citrakūta durga. Born in this family was Mummadi Singa (referred to in Madras Local Records, No. 40). The descent may be fictitious ; but we are told that his son was Kampila, variously known also as Kampa, Kampila deva and Kampa rājendra. Katanna was another of his sons, Kumāra Rāmanātha was the third, while his daughter Māramma married Sangama deva previously referred to as Bhava Sangama. Kampila ruled over Kuntala with Hosadurga as capital. He led several campaigns against Ballāla, Vira Rudra and others. The Sultan of Delhi acknowledged him as a rival. His son was Rāmanātha, after whose birth, Kampila assumed royal titles.¹⁵⁶

Kampila Rajas and the Hoysalas were frequently at war, the chief source of dispute being that the Hoysala frontier touched the Kampili kingdom. Border raids led to constant friction. Once trouble arose because Ballāla would not give some hounds he had with him to Rāmanātha. At another

¹⁵⁵ *Q. J. M. S.*, XX, p. 11.

¹⁵⁶ *Q. J. M. S.*, XX, p. 90.

time, it was a fight for a horse. During one of these raids, Ballāla marched through Bāguru pass in the Hosadurga Taluk of the Chitaldroog District to take revenge. In the fight that ensued, a well-known general Bhava Sangama is said to have taken part, assisting Katanna.¹⁵⁷ Mr. Ramasharma refers to *Bagavalu and Cittanahalli grants in the Hassan Supplement*, pp. 131 and 52 on which he relies. In the war, Muhammadan cavalry appears to have been employed on either side. In the course of the bitter scuffle, we are told Soma, perhaps the brother-in-law of Ballāla III, and Baicha Dannāyaka represented to their respective rulers that it was not meet that they should be fighting, when the enemy Suratrāna was at their door, for if he pounced upon them, the result would be disastrous to both. Peace was entered into and later on Rāmanātha in whose favour his father resigned, became king.¹⁵⁷ Another fight of Ballāla against Vira Rudra in which also Sangama participated is mentioned.

An interesting account of the war between Kampili and the Delhi Sultan is given. The origin is said to be that a daughter of the Sultan became enamoured of Rāmanātha on seeing a picture of his ; when he refused her hand in marriage and territorial advantage, war was resolved upon. In an exhibition for skill in archery Bahāudin (Badura) being successful became a Mallik and territorial magnate. The displeased nobles set up the Sultan against him, and hearing he was attempting the throne, his execution was ordered. Thereupon, warned betimes, Badura fled South for refuge and in Kampili, the son prevailed upon his unwilling father to give him succour. Nemi Khan then was ordered to advance south.¹⁵⁸ If this commander be Mallik Kaffur, the incident conflicts with the version of the Muhammadan writers. Besides, there does not appear much warrant for these statements from recorded history so far.

¹⁵⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 90-92.

¹⁵⁸ *Ib.*, p. 93.

In *Kumāra Rāmana Sāṅgathya* of Ganga,¹⁵⁹ King Kampila son of Mummudi Singa, a Bedar by caste, is described as a great warrior and the vanquisher of the Turukas. He was a Śaivite devotee of the God Jatinga Rāmeśvara. Rāmanātha was an able and distinguished warrior; even at sixteen he was a famous wrestler. He humbled the powerful Ballāla and routed Nemi's invading army. Bhava Sangama was a favourite son-in-law of Kampila.¹⁶⁰ Bandari (*gollar*) Bukkaṇṇa is referred to.¹⁶¹ The death of Sangama and Badura is reported twice. Kampila survives Rāmanātha whose head is taken to Benares, after its return from Delhi and transformed into a linga. Harihara, Bukka (Bhuka) and others were called by Kampila for the purpose and accompanied him.¹⁶² At the zenith of his power, Rāmanātha is described by various titles. Of these, capturer of Ballāla's forces and victor over King Ballāla may be mentioned.¹⁶³ There was rejoicing at the court of Kampila and a festival of pikes was held which was attended by Sangama deva of Udayagiri, Pamparāya of Penukonda, Bhava Sangama, Mayideva, Sayideva, Bhandārada Harihara and Bhandārada Bukkaṇṇa.

From these circumstances, among others, Dr. Venkata Ramanayya infers that the expansion of Kampila's territories provoked jealousy amongst the neighbouring rulers of Wārangal and Dorasamudra. He refers to the defeat of the Hoysala when their respective forces met near Anegondi and says that it was then that the Hoysala made overtures for peace.¹⁶⁴ But the account does not refer to the defeat of the Hoysala. He further says that subsequent to the peace between the two rulers, Rāmanātha went to help Ballāla against Wārangal and

¹⁵⁹ *Ib.*, p. 94.

¹⁶⁰ *Ib.*, pp. 99-100.

¹⁶¹ See Supplement to *Q. J. M. S.*, Oct. 1929.

¹⁶² p. 15.

¹⁶³ *Ib.*, see also *Q. J. M. S.*, XX, p. 103. "Bhandārada Harihara and Bhandārada Bukkaṇṇa."

¹⁶⁴ *Cf. Ib.*, p. 18.

returned victorious.¹⁶⁵ Whatever these events may be, we have to remember that ultimately Kummaṭa became the seat of a Muhammadan province and a garrison was placed there about 1327-28.¹⁶⁶

What was the position of these several rajas subsequent to this date, is the next important point for consideration. Then, what happened to Harihara and Bukka and where did they go ? Assuming that they were originally Telugu refugees, related to the royal house of Wārangal,¹⁶⁷ and later on they were in the service of the Raja of Kampili where they rose to positions of trust and responsibility,¹⁶⁸ does it follow from these, that Vijayanagara sprang up from the ashes of Kampili which had its root in the empire of the Yādavas of Deogiri ?¹⁶⁹ Do these facts militate against the theory that they were in the Hoysala service and rose from thence ?¹⁷⁰

In my consideration of this subject, I am prepared to concede, for the sake of argument, that the Kampili rajas were related to Deogiri kings, through Mummadi Singa,¹⁷¹ that there were wars between Ballāla and Kampila,¹⁷² in one of which a Ballāla general killed Kampila or some one else ;¹⁷³ and that Kampila and Kumāra Rāmanātha are historical personages, the latter of whom is eulogistically referred to in the inscriptions.¹⁷⁴

We get a clue to the appreciation of the whole situation in the fact that Muhammadan historians do not connect the

¹⁶⁵ Cf. *Q. J. M. S.*, XX. p. 103. " Ballāla bala balu bamdikara ; " Ballāla bhūpathia ganda."

¹⁶⁶ *Xn. Coll. Mag.*, Oct. 1929, p. 256 ; IX Quarterly series ; also *Kampili and Vijayanagara*.

¹⁶⁷ *Ib.*, p. 257.

¹⁶⁸ *Ib.*, p. 267.

¹⁶⁹ *Ib.*, p. 268.

¹⁷⁰ *Ib.*, p. 267.

¹⁷¹ *E. C.*, VII, Ci. 24 (1280) ; XI, Dg. 26 (1300).

¹⁷² *M. A. R.*, 1913, p. 119 ; *E. C.*, VIII, Nr. 19 (1320). Kapila deva.

¹⁷³ *E. C.*, XII, Tp. 24 (1325).

¹⁷⁴ *E. C.*, VIII, Tl. 23.

Kampili rajas with the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire. All these accounts to which we have referred further agree in their association of Vidyāranya with this remarkable incident. With the impending fall of Kampili, if Bahāudin was not killed as recorded in some of these accounts, where did he go, who sent him, and to which place? That he was taken prisoner, flayed alive and his flesh cooked and sent to his ladies at the instance of the Delhi Sultan appears correct and has been already referred to. The only ruler then free was the neighbouring king of Dorasamudra whose frontiers abutted on the Kampili kingdom. There had been then peace between the Kampili raja and himself. It is not unlikely that Harihara and Bukka, just as they had fled once before to Kampili from Wārangal, might on this occasion also have gone to Ballāla, another ruler, perhaps accompanying Bahāudin. I have already stated how it was impossible for the Delhi Sultan to make permanent arrangements for the government of the Kampili rajya and send an armed force for his chosen deputy Harihara. Nor was there much need for such a course, when Ballāla had delivered up the fugitive Bahāudin.

In a country devastated by a continuous war extending over a long period (if not for twelve years) it could not be expected that Harihara and Bukka would be able to raise an independent army of their own; nor had they the money to pay it with. Besides, a friendly attitude towards Ballāla would have been more helpful to them, even if they were inclined towards raising a standard of revolt later on. If Harihara and Bukka were vassals of the Delhi Sultan, there should have been evidence of encounters between them and Ballāla, subsequent to 1327-28. Even if they were in a position to declare independence in 1340, of which it may be permissible to entertain a doubt, they could not have been in that position five or six years previously. Further, there is no evidence that they were paying any tribute to the Sultan of the Delhi Empire as a token of their allegiance and loyalty.

Dr. Venkata Ramanayya attempts to controvert the statement that the sway of Ballāla III was recognised all

over his dominions and that there was no weakening of authority during 1335-40. He says, following Krishna Sastri, if Ballāla was constantly on the move it was in order to check the growing influence and authority of Harihara.¹⁷⁵ He admits there are no inscriptions describing the relations between the two powers but suggests when inscriptions refer to Ballāla and his generals fighting on the northern frontier, it must be against Vijayanagara rulers.¹⁷⁶ He cites *Rājakālanirṇaya*, according to which Harihara and Bukka soon after their return from Delhi attacked Ballāla and defeated him; they renewed the attacks time and again and ultimately defeated Ballāla and wrested his dominions. Dates for these events are not given. Inscriptions of Bukka I and his subordinates are stated to allude to the wars against the Hoysalas.

(1) *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 2. Mallinātha claims greatness over the Hoysala army. [Bukka is at Hosapattana in the Hoysala country.]

(2) *E. C.*, V, Pt. I, Hn. 19. Tippa Rāja (subordinate of Bukka I? or Son?) captured Uchchangi.

(3) *E. C.*, VI, Mg. 25. Tippanna Vodeyār and Teppada Nāgaṇṇa, sabhāpathis of Bukka, were unwilling to give up Sosevur in the Hoysala country. [Original doubtful.]

(4) *E. C.*, IV, Yd. 46. Bukka freed from the enemies a hundred royal cities counting from Dorasamudra and ruled over an empire perfect in seven parts.

(5) *M. A. R.*, 1925, No. 84, p. 73, 1354 A.D. Bukka was ruling at Hosapattana, after making the Hoysala kingdom an ornament to his arms, that is, after conquering it.

(6) The struggle began again about 1336, when Harihara who was governing the Konkan pushed southwards and built a fortress at Barakura. Ballāla's generals advanced to check it.¹⁷⁷ Harihara attacked again when Ballāla hastened to the

¹⁷⁵ See *A. S. I.*, 1907-08, pp. 235-37, by H. Krishna Sastri on the 'First Vijayanagara Dynasty'.

¹⁷⁶ *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, p. 29.

¹⁷⁷ *Report of Epigraphy*, 122 of 1901.

place.¹⁷⁸ After 1339, Harihara took it. Before 1342, Konkan was under Vijayanagara; perhaps even before 1340, when Ballāla retired from the place.¹⁷⁹

I am not sure how far these references can be relied upon for the statement that Ballāla and Harihara were constantly at war. It may possibly be that Harihara was restive and trying to set up an independent kingdom; he may have been an unruly subordinate at the most; and, judging from the conditions of the period, absence of the monarch at a distance may have been utilised by a viceroy towards asserting a little independence. Mallinātha's claim does not refer to any place or the nature of the encounter. Unwillingness to give up Sosevur may be an act of regard for the birthplace of the Hoysalas. The other inscriptions relate to the greatness of the Hoysala dominions and incidentally help us to identify Hosapattana with Vijayanagara and thus resolve the doubts regarding its foundation.

Besides, as against these, we find inscriptions recording private grants for the success of the sword and arm of Ballappa Dannāyaka in the Mulbagal rajya of the Kolar district, in 1337-39.¹⁷⁹ Similar records regarding Vijayanagara are not forthcoming.

After anointing his son, Ballāla must have left Dora-samudra about 1340, in order to meet the aggressive policy of the Sultan of Madura who began to attack the Hoysala kingdom. In the same year, he was residing for some time at Unnamalepattana, making preparations. When Ahsam Shah, Sultan of Madura, was murdered, succeeded by Allauddin, Ballāla took advantage of this opportunity, led a very large and mighty army as far as Rāmeśvaram where he planted a Pillar of Victory in 1341. He died in 1342.¹⁸⁰ Ballāla IV ascended the throne in 1343,¹⁸¹ Ballappa Dannāyaka having been long

¹⁷⁸ *E. C.*, V, Ak. 183. I, p. 55.

¹⁷⁹ From Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*. Harihara's attack not mentioned.

¹⁸⁰ *E. C.*, VI, Kd. 75.

¹⁸¹ *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105; IX, Bn. 111; Rice : *M. & I.*, pp. 107-8.

associated with the government in the kingdom. Fresh war commenced in 1343 and continued for some time.¹⁸² Ballāla IV's authority was not recognised by all and petty chiefs began to set up, one of them even assuming Hoysala titles.¹⁸³ A commander of the Hoysala army Ballappadannāyaka, married a daughter of Harihara I in 1346.¹⁸⁴ These incidents lead us to infer that petty risings had to be subdued before Vijayanagara authority could prevail and be firm. When Hoysala power was crumbling, this was but natural.

Another reason given is that there is no Vijayanagara inscription in the Hoysala Empire prior to 1342, when the whole of the west coast was in their hands. The Raicūr Doab with the Krishna as the true boundary comprising all the territory belonging to the Anegondi family belonged to Harihara and he was, therefore, the heir of the Anegondi family. I can only say that the conclusion does not follow from the premises.

The Sultans of Madura were never in hostile relations with the Delhi Emperor and no reason is given why these Imperial vassals, Harihara and Bukka, did not give trouble to Ballāla on the northern frontier when he marched against Madura. Inscriptions attest ceaseless conflicts between Muhammadans and Ballāla in one of which he fell fighting. If, again, Harihara and Bukka conquered the Hoysala country, why was it not annexed to the Delhi Empire? When did they shake off their allegiance and declare independence? In his book on Kampili and Vijayanagara, on pp. 26-27, Dr. Venkata Ramanayya quotes Barni¹⁸⁵ and says that before 1346 Kampili formed part of the dominions of Sultan Muhammad. Kanya Nāyak, the apostate, is said to have come from Wārangal like Harihara and Bukka previously.¹⁸⁶ He relies on Nuniz and

¹⁸² *E. C.*, X, Ct. 53, 1337; Kl. 54, 1339; Bp. 28, 1339.

¹⁸³ *E. C.*, X, Mr. 16, 1343; Ct. 89, 1344; IV, Hs. 114, 1344.

¹⁸⁴ *E. C.*, VI, Hg. 112, 1343.

¹⁸⁵ Elliot and Dowson, III, p. 247.

¹⁸⁶ Nanjunda's *Ballāla Rāyana Yuddha*. Mac. MSS. 19-2-14, *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, p. 26.

Rājakālanirṇaya for the rest of his account which we have given before.

If, again, Harihara and Bukka were vassals of the Delhi Sultan and declared their independence only in 1346, the theory of Hindu effort to combat Muhammadan aggression on which he also relies, in the South falls to the ground.

I am, therefore, inclined to believe that Ballāla III must have greatly assisted in the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire. Absence of Vijayanagara inscriptions prior to 1342 further supports this view.

Ballāla's alleged foundation of Hosapattana, Virūpākṣapattana, Vira-Vijaya-Virūpākṣapattana, Virūpākṣa, Hosadurga, Hosabetṭa, Hampe, Vijayanagara, in 1328 or 1329 is said to be an absolute myth on these grounds :—

(i) No inscription refers to Ballāla founding any city as alleged.

(ii) There is no inscription of Ballāla at Hampe.

(iii) The inscription (A.S. 1926) of Someśvara, grandfather of Ballāla III, does not prove that Hampe was included in the Hoysala dominions.

(iv) On the other hand, there is Kampila's inscription at Hampe. (L. A. M. 46.) Prasanna Virūpākṣa temple on the Hemakūṭa Hill was built by him. On the fall of Kummaṭa in 1327 in the war against the Muhammadans, Kampila went to Delhi. Immediately afterwards, the Sultan marched against the Hoysala who surrendered. Ballāla III could never have mustered sufficient courage to found a capital at the time, more particularly because the Delhi Sultan was then still at Deogiri. Therefore, Bukka and Hukka were not feudatories of Ballāla III.

If we should look at the facts related by Nuniz and the corresponding facts taken from Mussalman, Hoysala and Vijayanagara history, with full references thereto and noting the errors in the account of Nuniz, it will perhaps be suggested that (i) a king of Vijayanagara is referred to before the existence of the city itself (Bisnāgar) ; (ii) six nobles, including a minister, withdrew to a house during the slaughter of the

king and the rest of his army ; (iii) one of these became the founder of the empire ; (iv) Muhammad Tughlak sent a new Hindu king to the South in order to put down the rebellions there against him ; and (v) a Muhammadan is therefore responsible for the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire.

Now, what are the facts ? All accounts agree that the person responsible for the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara was one who had been imprisoned by the Delhi Mussalmans ; he had been taken prisoner to Delhi ; and he was subsequently released. Who was this king ? Nuniz describes the new Hindu king of Bisnāga, appointed by Muhammad Tughlak as Deorao, who was originally imprisoned and then set free by him and who thereafter returned to the country. According to the Mussalman historians, the invasion of the Hoysala Empire took place in 1310.¹⁸⁷ Vira Ballāla III waited for the enemy at Dorasamudra¹⁸⁸ and Allauddin Khilji had been at war with him ever since that period.¹⁸⁹ As stated previously, he was defeated and killed in 1342 by the Sultan of Madura.¹⁹⁰ The place of his death referred to as Beribi has been interpreted and identified with Chirichi or Tiruchi by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar. Muhammad Tughlak had transferred his capital to Deogiri for some time.¹⁹¹ During this period, there was a rebellion in Multan and later on in the Eastern Provinces.¹⁹² Then, Muhammad Tughlak left Mallik Naib Imad-ul-Mulk as commander at Wārangal but Hasan Kangu rebelled against him at Deogiri, defeated and killed him.¹⁹³ We are not concerned with the events that led up to the foundation of the Bahamani Kingdom. To continue our narrative, Sewell describes Deorao as the general

¹⁸⁷ *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, App. A, p. 35, *Vidyāranya Kālañjana*, Mc. MSS., p. 45 ; Ferishta, *Briggs.*, I, p. 427.

¹⁸⁸ Ferishta, *Briggs*, I, p. 373.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. *Supra* and previous lectures.

¹⁹⁰ Ibn Batuta, *Voyages*, IV, pp. 196-98 : *E. C.*, VI, Kd. 75.

¹⁹¹ Ferishta, *Briggs.*, pp. 419-20.

¹⁹² *Ib.*, pp. 419-25.

¹⁹³ Elliot-Dowson, III, pp. 257-58.

title of the Vijayanagara kings.¹⁹⁴ There is no evidence that Harihara or any other of the supposed founders of the Vijayanagara Empire, Kampa, Bukka, Mārappa or Muddappa bore such a title or surname. On the contrary, Ballāla III has been described as Vira Ballāla Devarasa.¹⁹⁵ After being taken prisoner to Delhi,¹⁹⁶ he was subsequently released and sent back to his own kingdom,¹⁹⁷ according to one inscription and the accounts of Muhammadan historians. A raja of the Carnatic who was defeated by Mallik Kafur in 1310 is described as 'Bilal Dev.'¹⁹⁸ In the inscription¹⁹⁸ it is distinctly stated that after the Turuka war, when his son returned from Delhi, Ballāla remitted certain taxes. It is not unlikely that Deorao referred to by Nuniz is Ballāla. We are confirmed in this statement by Ferishta's account detailed above. 'Bilal Dev convened a meeting of his kinsmen and resolved first to secure the forts of his own country, and then to remove the seat of government among the mountains.' He then 'built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions and called it after his son Beeja (Vija or Vijaya according to Heras), to which word Nugger or city was added so that it is now known by the name of Beejanugger.' Sewell discredits this version on the ground that it could not be built in a short time.¹⁹⁹ In the sixteenth century, Ferishta was in an exceptional position to obtain information regarding this matter in the famous city of Bijapura. The tradition was undoubtedly alive then. Further, we have heard of the *Abhiṣeka* of Ballāla III's son.²⁰⁰ He was called Vira Virūpākṣa Ballāla Deva. Ballāla III himself was ruling in Sri Vira Vijaya Virūpākṣapura as his residential capital in 1339.²⁰¹ The name happens to coincide

¹⁹⁴ *F. E.*, p. 298 ; *F. N.*, 2.

¹⁹⁵ *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105.

¹⁹⁶ Ferishta, *Briggs.*, I, p. 373.

¹⁹⁷ *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 68. Makkalu Vira Ballāla Devarasa.

¹⁹⁸ Ferishta, *Briggs.*, I, p. 373 ; *E. C.*, V, Hn. 51 and 52.

¹⁹⁹ *F. E.*, p. 29 ; *F. N.*, 2.

²⁰⁰ *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105.

²⁰¹ *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 43.

with that of Ballāla III's son also. Vijaya had been formerly prefixed to Hoysala cities elsewhere. Indeed, Dorasamudra itself was once called by that name.²⁰²

Then, Deorao was very old even as Ballāla III was,²⁰³ and Harihara could not have been so old. If Bukka was eighty years old in 1379, his brother, however much older than himself, could not have been more than forty-three at the time of the foundation.

It is very significant, as Prof. Venkateswara suggests, that no Muhammadan writer has, so far, claimed on behalf of Muhammad Tughlak credit for the gift of a kingdom to Harihara and Bukka. There has been no charge of disloyalty or ingratitude against Harihara and Bukka levelled by the Muhammadan chroniclers, in spite of the fact that in later years they adopted quite an independent and a frankly anti-Muhammadan attitude. Barni refers to the revolt of Wārangal. There is evidence that Vira Rudra was the bulwark of Hinduism in the North where, in his time, he checked the Muhammadan advance. It is said that he showered a rain of gold on the poet Mallinātha.²⁰⁴ It is further suggested that Harihara and Bukka who were in the service of Pratāpa Rudra came to Hampe in the course of a pilgrimage where they met Vidyāraṇya. A celebrated Śiva temple is referred to as existing there.²⁰⁵ Buchanan says that Scott's translation of Ferishta agrees with *Rāya Paddhati*. We do not know what the inscription is which refers to the foundation of Vijayanagara by one of the sons of Rudra II.²⁰⁶ However, *Rājakālanirṇaya*²⁰⁷ says that, after the sack of Wārangal in 1321, Harihara and Bukka fled for shelter to the Raja of Kampili whose name was Rāmanātha. This prince is also

²⁰² *E. C.*, XI, Mk. 12 ; V, Cn. 244.

²⁰³ He was 82 years old in 1342. Ibn Batuta, IV, p. 198.

²⁰⁴ *Mad. Or. MSS. Lib.*, No. 12281.

²⁰⁵ Buchanan, p. 282.

²⁰⁶ *S. K. I.*, *Beg.*, p. 164.

²⁰⁷ *Mad. Or. MSS. Lib.*, No. 12772.

referred to by Buchanan.²⁰⁸ In the course of his encounter with the Delhi Sultan, the Kampili Raja was slain and amongst the survivors who were taken captives were Harihara and Bukka. They were protected by the Sultan until, as stated in the earlier lecture, they were released as a result of a council decision. Harihara thereupon became king. To refer to Elliot's account relating to the sack of Wārangal, we find "about the same time one of the relations of Kanya Nāyak whom the Sultan had sent to Kambala²⁰⁹ apostised from Islam and stirred up a revolt. The land of Kambala was also lost and fell into the hands of the Hindus."²¹⁰ This will prove, more than anything else, that Muhammad Tughlak was unable to protect his South Indian kingdoms. Perhaps, Kanya Nāyak was a Kākatiya noble who was carrying on private negotiations with the Hoysalas. There was a famine at Delhi in 1335-36 and the circumstances in the north forced Tughlak to concentrate his attention there. He could not be expected to be in any mood, much less afford, to send an army to set up Harihara and Bukka on the throne.

The only South Indian kingdom that had been comparatively free from the devastating effects of Muhammadan occupation was that which was established in the Mysore Plateau. No other kingdom was in the favourable position in which the Hoysala country was situated. This fact should not be forgotten in considering the importance of the political events of the period.

There is another view that Kumāra Rāmanātha was always at war with Ballāla III and that Harihara and Bukka who, along with their other relations, took part in these engagements were least likely to have surrendered their individuality to the Hoysala ruler Ballāla, to whom they were vastly superior in military prowess. This has already been considered and proved unacceptable.

²⁰⁸ pp. 278-91.

²⁰⁹ Perhaps Kampili, cf. Ibn Batuta.

²¹⁰ Vol. III, pp. 245-46.

Was Vijayanagara in the Hoysala Country ? and was Ballāla III Ruling there ?

In dealing with Vijayanagara as a part of the Kuntala Deśa and the Hoysala country, known as Hosapattana and by other names, I have already dealt in detail regarding this subject. Later on, while discussing the identity of Crynmaṭa of Nuniz, I have again referred to it. Vijayanagara has further been referred to as Hosamalé and Hosadurga. Hosamalé has been indentified with a forest in the vicinity of the Hampe ruins. I have further referred to the activities of Ballāla III in different parts of his territories at different times. If the Hoysalas were lords of Kuntala Deśa and if Vijayanagara was in the Kuntala country, it follows naturally that it must have been in the Hoysala dominions.

Gangadevi refers to her father-in-law Bukka I as Kuntala Bhūmi Pāla.²¹¹ Vira Bukka Rāyalu was ruling at Penukonda and Dorasamudra in 1352.²¹² In 1354, he was at Hosapattana. According to the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XI, Cd. 2, it was in the Hoysala country. Bukka is the elevator of the Hoysala Empire. A Hampe inscription refers to Hoysalas implying its inclusion in the Hoysala kingdom at one time.²¹³ Besides, Ballāla III crowned his son at Hosapattana,²¹⁴ where he was previously ruling and which was his residential capital.²¹⁵ A number of inscriptions refer to Ballāla's stay in his capital of Vijayanagara, by their then known names. An inscription of 1178 in Holal of the Bellary district mentions Nalambavādi in Kuntala Deśa; Rājamalla II, a Kuntala prince, gives in 1199 a grant to the Durga Pagoda, situated in the north of the Virūpākṣa temple.²¹⁶ If Vijayanagara was in

²¹¹ *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, p. 28.

²¹² *Ep. Rep.*, 1908.

²¹³ *Q. J. M. S.*, XI, p. 21. Cf. also Venkataramanayya : *Vijayanagara Origins*.

²¹⁴ *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105 ; *op. cit.*, IX, Bn. 111.

²¹⁵ *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 43, *Mad. Ep. Rep.*, No. 17 of 1889.

²¹⁶ *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 45.

the Kuntala Deśa and the Hoysalas were lords of Kuntala, it follows that Vijayanagara was in the Hoysala country.

It is not, given these premises, improbable that Ballāla III was ruling at Vijayanagara, then called Hosapattana and by other names. Several inscriptions have already been referred to. That even Dorasamudra was known as a residential capital or ಸಲೋದರ is clear from the fact that Ballāla III was anointed in the residential capital of Dorasamudra on February 1, 1292.²¹⁷ Taking the dates for the movements of Ballāla III subsequent to 1328, we find him ruling in the residential capital of Virūpākṣapattana in 1330.²¹⁸ In the following year, 1331, he was in Hosadurga.²¹⁹ Two years later, in 1333, he was at Hosabettā.²²⁰ In 1339, his residence was Vira Vijaya Virūpākṣapura and he was king by his own sole valour. His relation and minister Dādi Somayya is also mentioned.²²¹ In 1340, he was at Hosanad.²²² Anointment takes place of his son Ballāla IV.²²³ This is no other than Vira Virūpākṣa Ballāla Deva who obtains the crown on June 28, 1343.²²⁴ In 1342 again, Ballāla III is at Virūpākṣapura,²²⁵ while in the previous year, 1341, on account of his victorious expedition to Madura and Rameśvaram against the Sultan's forces and erecting a Pillar of Victory, he bore the additional title of *Setu-Mūla Jayastambha*. From these, it will be clear that Ballāla III was ruling from Vijayanagara and that the identity of Vijayanagara itself could not be looked for, as Mr. Rice once

²¹⁷ *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 36. Avanasī, 189 of 1909 gives the date of Coronation as 31 Jan. 1292 A.D.

²¹⁸ *E. C.*, V, Ak. 66, 1330 ; Ś. 1252, *Pramoda*, *Aśvija Su.* 12, Monday. Stone inscription.

²¹⁹ *E. C.*, XII, Gb. 30. Virūpākṣa-Hosadurga.

²²⁰ *E. C.*, IX, Nl. 9.

²²¹ *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 43.

²²² *E. C.*, IX, DB. 43.

²²³ *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 111.

²²⁴ *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105.

²²⁵ *E. C.*, IX, Dv. 21.

suggested, in the present Mysore country, but that it was the old Hosapattana.

**Did Ballāla III transfer his Capital from Dorasamudra to
Vijayanagara and if so why ?**

The frontiers of the Hoysala kingdom abutted on those of Kampili. When Deogiri and Wārangal were subdued and Kampili was destroyed, Ballāla was practically obliged to deliver up Bahāudin. About 1327-28, at the time of the demand for the surrender of the fugitive, it does not appear that Dorasamudra was sacked or destroyed. In the palmy days of the Hoysala Empire, Perdore, the Kannada name for the river Krishna, was considered the natural frontier of the Hoysala dominions in the North. With the fall of Kampili, Ballāla III may have felt like extending his territory in that direction. Freed from the rivalries of Wārangal and Deogiri, at a time when the Sultan of Delhi had sufficient to occupy his attention in Northern India itself, this could not be considered an unnatural ambition. Furthermore, we have already noticed how the generals of Kampila and Ballāla advised their masters to make peace in order to combine against the Muhammadan rulers. The people of Deogiri and Wārangal kingdoms as well as the influential nobles therein may have made overtures to the one Hindu ruler who was yet comparatively free from the onslaughts and terror which Muhammadan conquest involved, to go to their rescue. At any rate, there was no other ruler in existence, so far as we are aware, who could have undertaken this task. If we watch Ballāla's constant movements from 1318 to his death in 1342 at Yalahankanad,²²⁶ we shall observe that he was at Aruṇasamudra in 1318²²⁷ and 1331²²⁸; at Dorasamudra in 1319²²⁹ and 1334²³⁰; at

²²⁶ *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 34.

²²⁷ *E. C.*, IX, Cp. 73.

²²⁸ *E. C.*, IX, Cp. 71.

²²⁹ *E. C.*, IX, Cp. 12.

²³⁰ *E. C.*, IX, Cp. 7.

Unṇamale in 1328,²³¹ 1340,²³² 1341,²³³ and 1342²³⁴; and at Vijayanagara as before stated. Unṇāmāle is again mentioned in Bn. 41 of 1343, while the last Hoysala inscription we meet with is dated 1346.²³⁵ Thus, Dorasamudra was not given up but operations had to be directed from the North which necessitated Ballāla having a number of capitals. It was also difficult to maintain a chain of communications in those days from the far-off capital with the forces in the North. For these several reasons, we must take it that Ballāla was on the move and resided in the northern parts of his dominions.

Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri suggests that, in addition to the fear of Muhammadan invasions, fear of Harihara and Bukka may have induced a change of capital to Tiruvannāmale.²³⁶ He considers them sufficiently powerful to exercise a predominating influence long prior to their declaration of independence. His reasons are the subjection of a Muhammadan chief at Honnavar to Harihara I (*Ibn Batuta*); Harihara's subordinate building a fort at Badami in 1340 (*Ind. Ant.*, p. 63); Bairasu Wodeyar's recognition of Vijayanagara overlordship by 1336 (*South Canara Manual*, I, p. 55); Harihara I building a fort at Barakur (*Ib.*, p. 65); Bukka I attacking a Hoysala town in the Shimoga district (*S. C.*, VII, *Intr.*, p. 34); Singanna Nāyaka (Hoysala feudatory) acknowledging Ballāla III in 1340 and appearing semi-independent in 1346-47. These have been dealt with elsewhere and if the view therein propounded that Harihara and Bukka were acting under Ballāla be accepted, most of the objections will disappear.

What part did Vijayanagara play, if any, in the defence of the Hoysala Empire?

We have referred, in these pages, to Ballāla's rule in Vira-Vijaya Virūpākṣapura as his residential capital, as the sole

²³¹ *E. C.*, IX, DB. 14, 18; Ht. 124.

²³² *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 31; Dv. 54.

²³³ *E. C.*, XII, Si. 10.

²³⁴ *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 21, 24, 129; Dv. 46.

²³⁵ *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 120.

²³⁶ *Arch. Sur. Ind.*, 1907-08, p. 236.

monarch by his own valour ; to inscriptions at Hampe leading to the inference that it was included in the Kuntala kingdom which belonged to the Hoysalas ; and to Ballāla IV being familiarly known as Hampia.²³⁷ He was crowned, besides, at Vijayanagara. Hampe was called after the heir-apparent, or Ballāla was named after the city. In either case, the relationship is significant.

During his lifetime, Ballāla III was often residing at Vijayanagara, for it must have been of considerable strategic importance from its geographical position. The construction of a capital on this side of the river, as opposed to Anegondi on the other bank, must have provided additional advantages of its own. By keeping the enemy at bay, at a distant outpost of the empire, it was possible to organise the army and collect provisions with greater security, if not also to maintain secrecy. Communications could be maintained more efficiently with allies in case of war.

Ballāla, after his release from captivity and return from Delhi, had restored Dorasamudra to its old condition and about the time of the Muhammadan attack on Wārangal, after a council of war, he had resolved upon securing and strengthening the forts of his empire. Tiruvaṇṇāmale and Hosapattana thereupon became prominent fortresses. While Uṇṇāmale could look out and prevent the Sultan's forces from joining the army from Madura, Vijayanagara could be expected to withstand Muhammadan aggression from the North-East.

Vijayanagara was, besides, central to the Hoysala, Kākatiya and Deogiri kingdoms and if the origin of the empire could be said to be the result of a vast and united Hindu effort for the protection of the Hindu religion, the Hoysala Empire was then the symbol of revolt against the Muhammadan usurpation and Vijayanagara was its centre. That Harihara supported this undertaking of Ballāla is clear and that people throughout the Hoysala dominions prayed for the success of Ballāla's arms is also clear.

²³⁷ *E. C.*, IV, Yd. 29, Stone, 1342 ? Hampevodeya, son of Vira Ballāla Devarasa. Monday, *Chitrabhānu*, *Chaitra* 1.

Vira Ballāla Rāya's (Father or Son) return from Delhi, after the Turuka war, was signalised by the remission of taxes by Ballāla III. In 1307, a Tamil stone inscription records a grant for success to Ballāla and Vallappa Dannaikker.²³⁸ Likewise, in 1339 for Ballāla's son Periya Vallappa Dannaikar.²³⁹ And there are other references. As regards the Vijayanagara rulers, there is likewise a grant for the success in arms of Bukkarāya, son of Harihara Rāya;²⁴⁰ while an inscription of 1346 describes Hariyappa and Bukkanna as ruling.²⁴¹ Another inscription in stone of the same year probably, *Vyaya, Vaisaka Su. 1, Thursday*, refers to Ballālarāya without any epithets.²⁴² The Tekal people make a grant which is engraved on a rock and issued with the royal seal. Hariappa and Muthanna are referred to.²⁴³ As we shall see later, 1346 was a year of outstanding significance in the history of the Vijayanagara Empire. It celebrated the festival of the empire. There are no records of the Hoysala after this year. We must take it that the traditions of the Hoysala emperors was carried on by the Vijayanagara kings. This is no unreasonable inference, for Bukka I was the elevator of the Hoysala Empire, he freed Dorasamudra and other cities from the ravages of the enemies of Hinduism, Vijayanagara generals were unwilling to give up the Hoysala birthplace Sosevūr, and Hoysala kingdom was an ornament to Bukka. The Vijayanagara kings assumed the titles of the Hoysala Ballālas and made Hoysala reputation all the greater by their wise and firm rule.

Origin of the Sangama Dynasty

The father of Harihara and Bukka, and the other three brothers, Kampana, Mārappa and Muddappa was Sangama. This fact is beyond dispute. To which place he belonged and whether he was of Telugu or Kannada descent is, however, a

²³⁸ *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 133.

²³⁹ *E. C.*, X, Kl. 54.

²⁴⁰ *E. C.*, X, Ct. 89, 1344. Date has to be verified.

²⁴¹ *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 59.

²⁴² *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 120.

²⁴³ *E. C.*, X, Mr. 39 (1346), Ariyavallappa, Harihara, etc.

question still to be decided. If Sangama held any office in the court of the Kākatiya, as his sons Harihara and Bukka are alleged to have, it may furnish another reason to assert that they were of Andhra or Telugu descent. If, on the other hand, they were feudatories of the Hoysalas, they will be of Karnāta extraction.

Buchanan and Wilks consider the emperors of Vijayanagara to have been of Anāray or Telinga descent.²⁴⁴ They consider Harihara and Bukka to have been officers of the treasury of the ruler of Wārangal. When the Kākatiya army was subverted by the Afghan army, these two brothers, warned by a vision, formed the project of the establishment of a new empire at Hampe, in which the spiritual and temporal guidance of Vidyāranya was of supreme assistance to them. The capital was named Vidyānagara, as a mark of respect to the sage and preceptor, and built in 1336, being completed by 1350. With this origin of the empire came Telugu ascendancy, both in language and at court. The government founded by foreigners was also supported by foreigners and in the heart of the Karnātaka country, a Telinga court was maintained by a Telinga army. This view also finds favour with Sewell,²⁴⁵ Suryanarayana Rao,²⁴⁶ V. A. Smith,²⁴⁷ V. Rangachari²⁴⁸ and N. Venkataramanayya. Even Rice says the Vijayanagara rulers may have descended from the feudatories of the Hoysala Ballālas or of Pratāpa Rudra of the Kākatiya family.²⁴⁹ In this he is supported by H. H. Wilson who says the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire is generally admitted to have arisen out of the subversion of the Hindu governments of the Kākatiya and Ballāla rajas by the incursions of the Muhammadans in the beginning of the fourteenth century.²⁵⁰ According to V. A. Smith, better authority exists for supposing them to have been Hoysala feudatories.

²⁴⁴ Buchanan, *Travels* ; Wilks, *Historical Sketches*.

²⁴⁵ *F. E.*, pp. 21-2.

²⁴⁶ *N. F. E.*, pp. 19 and 148.

²⁴⁷ *Ox. His. Ind.*, p. 301.

²⁴⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, XLIII, p. 113.

²⁴⁹ Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 223.

²⁵⁰ *Maack. Coll.* (Calcutta 1882), p. 83.

Sangama is said to have been the son of one Bukka.²⁵¹ Who are the Bukka and Sangama referred to here is not certain. Butterworth identifies Sangama's father with Bukkarāyalu, who receives a number of Birudas.²⁵² If the father of this Bukkarāyalu be a Reddy chief,²⁵³ the explanation becomes difficult (says Heras).

I am inclined to agree with the view (of Heras) that the first Vijayanagara rulers were Karnātakās and that the ascendancy of the Aravidu dynasty is perhaps responsible for the veneer of Telugu lineage to the founders. The inscriptions clearly go to show the Telugu parts of the Vijayanagara Empire to have been conquered territories and treated as such. The Kannada country was treated as their own. Harihara I was served by the kings of Anga, Kalinga, etc.²⁵⁴ Bukka I reduced the rebellion in the Andhra country.²⁵⁵ The Andhras ran into caves and holes in the frontier hills, defeated in their several attempts at independence both under Bukka I and Harihara II.²⁵⁶ The Andhra defeat is referred to but not of the Hoysala or Kannadiga, who appear to have acknowledged Harihara and Bukka as legitimate successors of Ballāla III and Ballāla IV. The Hoysala rulers in their day had fought against the Andhra kings just as the Vijayanagara emperors had later on to lead armies and subdue their recalcitrant Telugu subjects. They must even have been harshly treated as we hear of their journeys to the Vijayanagara Court for redress of their grievances.²⁵⁷ The king is the lord of the throne of Vijayanagara

²⁵¹ *E. C.*, X, Gd. 46.

²⁵² *Ins. Nel. Dis.*, III, p. 1467.

²⁵³ Butterworth, *Nel. Ins.*, II, 643.

²⁵⁴ *E. C.*, X, Bg. 70; Butterworth, p. 113.

²⁵⁵ *E. C.*, III, TN. 134; VIII, TL. 201; X, Gd. 46, Mb. 158; VII, Ci. 13; VI, Kp. 25; XII, Tp. 9; *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1916, p. 59.

²⁵⁶ *E. C.*, V, Bl. 3; Yavana, Turushka and Andhra hostile kings are mentioned. *E. C.*, IX, Hk. 34 (1399) refers to the third defeat.

²⁵⁷ *E. C.*, XII, Pg. 82, 1401 A.D.; 96 (1491 A.D.).

situated in the Karnātic kingdoms.²⁵⁸ The Andhras did not easily submit to Vijayanagara supremacy but there is no record of any great Hoysala rebellion against Vijayanagara.

There does not appear to be much to warrant the inference of Venkayya to suppose that Harihara and Bukka were in the service of the Yādavas of Deogiri,²⁵⁹ unless it be that they are said to have been employed by the Muhammadan governor there, or that they were allied to Rāmanātha, a descendant of Singa III.

The birudas of the Hoysala rulers and the Vijayanagara emperors bear a marked similarity and are almost alike. Further, the imprecatory verses of the inscriptions of both are generally the same. It is significant to notice that the attitude of both towards the Andhras and Kalingas is the same.²⁶⁰ Further, the expressions used against the Andhra are borrowed from previous Hoysala inscriptions.²⁶¹

Who was Sangama?

Rhava Sangama was a valiant general, and inherited kingly qualities from his father Bukka.²⁶² I have already dealt with his alleged relationship to the Yādavas of Deogiri.²⁶³ Fr. Heras discounts the inference of Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao²⁶⁴ relying on an epigraph in *E. C.*, V, 1295 and referring to one Bukkaṇṇa Odeyar and his father Hukkaṇṇa Odeyar as ancestors of Sangama.²⁶⁵

²⁵⁸ *Nellore Ins.*, Butterworth, pp. 542-43; Kundukur 30 (1520-21), p. 1155; Podili 4, 1514-15, Krishnadevarāya is the lord of Sri Karnataka Vijayanagara, p. 1187. *Ib.*, 1515-16, 29, King of Vijayanagara of the Karnatic; V. Rangachari, *Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, I, p. 171; Ginjee, 1383, *Mac. MSS. Karnātakarāja Savistāra-carita*.

²⁵⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 12.

²⁶⁰ Cf. with 256 *supra*, *E. C.*, V, Cn. 179; Ak. 62, 157, 138; XII, Tp. 128; VII, Sk. 95.

²⁶¹ *E. C.*, V, Cn. 179; Ak. 62.

²⁶² *E. C.*, X, Gd. 46; Mr. 150; Butterworth, *Nel. Ins.*, I, p. 113.

²⁶³ *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 12.

²⁶⁴ *N. F. E.*, pp. 163-64.

²⁶⁵ *Begs.*, p. 75.

Sangama married

- = Śārada. 5 sons. (Rice, *Mys. Ins.*, 227 ;
 E. C., V, Bl. 3.)
- = Mālāmbika. (*E. C.*, X, Gd. 46 ; Mb. 158.)
- = Mānāmbika.
- = Gaurāmbika.
- = Galāmbika.
- = Kāmāmbika.
- = Kāmāyi.
- = Kāmākṣi.

None of the inscriptions, all of which except one, which are to be found in Mysore, refer to Māramma.²⁶⁶ Likewise, Sangama is called by many names formed from Sangama but never by the appellation of Bhava Sangama.²⁶⁷

Being a Kuruba by caste, he is said to belong to the Yādava Vamśa in the inscriptions, most of which refer to him as a king.²⁶⁸ However, the sons brought reputation to the father,²⁶⁹ whatever he may himself have been. His journey to Rāmeśvaram where he encouraged the learned is mentioned and he otherwise also became famous.²⁷⁰ His praise as culled from the inscriptions is given by Heras on pp. 71-73 and I shall content myself with referring to his campaigns. In the *Mysore Archæological Report for 1918*, pp. 50-51, we are told that after performing the sixteen great gifts in Rāmeśvaram and other holy places, damming rapidly the Kāveri in full flood, he captured Tanjore (Tancha) and Srirangapattana and later on conquered Cera, Cola and Pāndya while he was besides lord of Madhura, Manubhuṣa, Turuṣka and Gajapati kings.²⁷¹ He enabled Lakṣmi, i.e., the Karnāṭaka Deśa to wear permanently her earrings.

²⁶⁶ *Bega.*, p. 69.

²⁶⁷ *Ib.*, p. 70.

²⁶⁸ *Ib.*, p. 70.

²⁶⁹ *Ib.*, p. 70.

²⁷⁰ *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, p. 372.

²⁷¹ See also *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, pp. 372-73.

If Sangama was such a great warrior and nobleman, and these are not purely hyperbolic expressions intended for adulation, in the prosperous days of the Vijayanagara kings belonging to the first dynasty of the Empire, and if any historical significance should have to be attached to the inscriptions giving very glowing accounts, the utmost we could do would be (with Heras²⁷²) to take the following conclusions.

Sangama was probably a nobleman and warrior, at the best a chieftain under the Hoysalas in the Karnāṭaka country, fighting some kings, capturing Seringapatam and advancing against the Muhammadans of Northern India and the Sultan of Madura.

As against other accounts connecting this Sangama with Deogiri and Kākatiya ruling families, Fr. Heras suggests and indeed identifies the ancestors of the first Vijayanagara dynasty with the family of Kesiraja. Enough has previously been said to negative the theory of a Telugu origin for Sangama. It has also been indicated that there is no inscriptional evidence of a reliable nature to connect Sangama with the Yādavas of Deogiri. Further, this relationship, if true, does not negative the hypothesis which Heras has developed in his lectures. For the genealogical tree of Kesiraja's family, I shall invite you to the table facing page 74 in Hera's book on the Beginnings of Vijayanagara. If Col. E. W. West is correct in his statement, and he gives no authority for it, that an officer formerly in the service of the Ballālas of Dorasamudra founded the leading kingdom of Vijayanagara,²⁷³ we shall get a support for Heras' view that Harihara was related to the Kesiraja family, met with in the Hoysala inscriptions. Keśava-Camunātha was born in the Yadu Vamśa, his line beginning with the Hoysalas, and his family produced most important generals for generations. They were of the purple and a Karnāṭa family. Several names of this family are common to that of Sangama, viz., Mādhava, Harihara, Devarasa, Mallappa.²⁷⁴ If we accept

²⁷² *Begs.*, pp. 73-4.

²⁷³ *Bom. Gaz.*, I, Pt. II, p. 637.

²⁷⁴ *E. C.*, V, Cn. 244.

that Mārappa, fourth son of Bukka, from Kalleśa acquired the kingdom of Chandragutti,²⁷⁵ it is not improbable that Sangama came from Kalleśa in the Kadur district.²⁷⁶ The Vijayanagara visit to Sringeri in 1346 A.D. may go to confirm this view. If the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Harihara referred to in a Coorg inscription²⁷⁷ be Harihara I, and Harihara I is described as comparatively old at the time of which we are speaking, it would go to suggest still more clearly that he was a Hoysala feudatory.

Father Heras in this connection also relies upon the statement in *Ferishta*²⁷⁸ according to which, with a view to save his country from disaster, Bilal Dev (Ballāla III) convened a meeting of his kinsmen or relations, determined to fortify the forts of his country and suggests that the foundation of Vijayanagara was one of the results. This fact, taken together with the appointment of Harihara as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara on an important frontier, would go to suggest he was a near relative of the ruling monarch. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says Harihara and Bukka were Hoysala feudatories directed to control and watch the northern frontier of the Hoysala dominions. That Harihara was the most prominent and responsible of his relations and that others occupied less important posts in the hierarchy of office is clear from the fact that a son-in-law was at Penukonda in 1333²⁷⁹ and a brother-in-law at Chitaldrug in the same year.²⁸⁰

Dadiya Somiah was a Danḍanāyaka, a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara,²⁸¹ great minister,²⁸² king's house minister,²⁸³ chief minister²⁸⁴ and king.²⁸⁵ He had contracted relationships with

²⁷⁵ *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.

²⁷⁶ *Begs.*, p. 77.

²⁷⁷ *E. C.*, I, Cg. 59, 1297.

²⁷⁸ *I*, p. 427.

²⁷⁹ *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 40.

²⁸⁰ *E. C.*, X, Gd. 16.

²⁸¹ *E. C.*, IX, Cp. 73; VI, Cm. 105.

²⁸² *E. C.*, IX, Kn. 69.

²⁸³ *E. C.*, V, Cn. 73.

²⁸⁴ *E. C.*, XI, Hk. 75.

²⁸⁵ *E. C.*, IX, 43.

the Hoysala and Vijayanagara families and his sons were ministers under Ballāla III. Heras considers he had descended from Kesiraja. Two of his sons are referred to one of whom Singeya was a nephew (son) of Ballāla III,²⁸⁶ related to him for a long time.²⁸⁷ Perhaps, his mother was a sister of Ballāla III himself,²⁸⁸ and he was a great minister of Ballāla III between the years 1318–43 A.D.²⁸⁹ Another son Vallappa or Ballappa was great minister in the palace of Poysala-Sri-Vira-Vallāla Deva in 1342,²⁹⁰ and went with Ballāla III to fight the Sultan of Madura. After Ballāla III's death, a grant is made in 1343 for the success of the sword and arm of Vallappa Dannayikar.²⁹¹ He is referred to in a number of inscriptions.²⁹² One of them, (H.K. 96) describes him as a son (meaning nephew) of the Pratāpa Cakravarti Poysala-Vira-Valla Devar. He is the *aliya* or the son-in-law of the Sringeri inscription because he had married a daughter of Harihara I. *E.C.*, VI, Sg. 1 is of 1346. I do not now refer to its genuineness or otherwise and this stone grant is regarded as genuine on all accounts. Ballāla III died in 1342. This minister, a younger brother Dati Singaya, had a son born to him about 1330 called Tanan according to *E.C.*, X, Mr. 18. It is not unlikely that Ballāla III brought about this marriage. His high regard for Vallappa's reputation and honesty is clear from the circumstance that not only does he take him to accompany him in the most important battle of his life which proved tragic to him but suggests his regency on behalf of his son Ballāla IV. I have already referred to the recognition of Dadiya Somiah as king. Dadi Somayya in 1339 at Vijayanagara,²⁹³ probably because he was a king of ministers, and we find Vallappa Dannayikar

²⁸⁶ *E. C.*, XI, Hk. 104.

²⁸⁷ *E. C.*, IX, An. 80.

²⁸⁸ *M. A. R.*, 1912–13, p. 40.

²⁸⁹ *E. C.*, XI, Hk. 140, 140a; Cn. 10, 31; Bp. 63; *E. C.*, X, Mr. 16.

²⁹⁰ *E. C.*, IX, Hk. 90.

²⁹¹ *E. C.*, X, Mr. 16.

²⁹² *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105; XI, Hk. 49, 90, 96; X, Bp. 10; Mr. 10, 12, 16, 18, 28.

²⁹³ *E. C.*, XI, Hk. 43.

acknowledging the authority of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, the champion over kings who break their word, Ariappa Udaiyar, his father-in-law, in 1361.²⁹⁴

These facts will further establish the view that Harihara and Bukka must have been Hoysala feudatories. There is not one inscription of the period which refers to Muhammadan overlordship.

Descent of Sangama

In the earlier part of these lectures, I have referred to the various accounts in which the descent of Harihara and Bukka is traced from Mummudi Singa, of the Bedar caste, belonging to a family originating from the fourth and outcasted son of Rājādhirāja Rāmadeva of Deogiri, who sought service with the chiefs of Citrakūṭa durga after the capture of Deogiri by the Muhammadans. This Singa III was a chief of the Kampili kingdom. Kampila's daughter was Māramma, sister of Kumāra Rāmanātha and she married Sangama. This Sangama Deva is referred to in the accounts as Bhava Sangama and he is described as having taken part in the wars between Kampili and Dorasamudra rajyas. The paternity of this Sangama is not given but the reference to Harihara and Bukka may, at first sight, lend colour to the inference of Venkayya that the ancestors of Harihara may have been in the employ of Rāmadeva of Deogiri.

The family god of Harihara like that of the Kampili kings was Virūpākṣa.²⁹⁵ The boar crest may be said to have been borrowed from the Cālukyan emperors. What was the crest of Kampili or Anegondi chiefs we are unable to say. If the capital from Anegondi was changed to the other side of the river as a check against Muhammadan advance and if the anxiety of the Sultan of Delhi to reduce the kingdom at all costs be interpreted as a revenge towards the nobles of Deogiri who fled from his captured kingdom, there will be something to probabalise the account given in these traditions referred to by Mr. Ramasharma.

²⁹⁴ *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 101.

²⁹⁵ *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256.

But why was Bukka I's general unwilling to give up Sosevūr?²⁹⁶ Was it not because Harihara and Bukka were formerly under the Hoysalas?

According to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, who is the leading spokesman of the theory of a Karnātaka origin for Vijayanagara, the Kannada dynasty of the Hoysala Ballālas founded the Vijayanagara Empire. The repeated invasions of the Khiljis and Tughlaks alarmed the ruling families in the South, who thought of organised resistance. Krishnappa Nāyaka, the Kākatiya of Wārangal, laid the first stone for the foundation. The Hindu tradition of Vidyāranya's assistance to Harihara and Bukka may have support from some Muhammadan sources but the origin of Empire was more prosaic according to the Muhammadan historians. The struggle in the South for a distinct and independent existence has gone on for over two thousand years and the people have stood at bay the all-destroying forces of attack on Hinduism from the time of Aśoka. Consequently, the Vijayanagara episode is but an incident in that great struggle for securing national liberty by a sovereign ruler of Mysore, Ballāla III. A glance at the map will show that on the conquest of Deogiri and the defeat of Wārangal, nearest to the danger zone was the Hoysala, but he was conveniently placed to work unnoticed.²⁹⁷ Dr. Aiyangar refers to Ibn Batuta's account for showing that Ballāla aimed at the conquest of the whole coast of the Coramandel and was able to put into the field 100,000 men, in addition to 20,000 Muhammadans as against a Muhammadan army of 6,000. Thus, though eighty years old, Ballāla could be expected to withstand Harihara and Bukka had they thought of advancing against him. It is impossible to believe any enmity between Ballāla and Harihara existed.

If we agree that *Rājakūlanirnaya* is not of much historical value as conceded by Gopinatha Rao,²⁹⁸ admit that their capital was in the Kannada country as accepted by

²⁹⁶ *E. C.*, VI, Mg. 25.

²⁹⁷ *Q. J. M. S.*, XI, pp. 13-14.

²⁹⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 10.

V. Rangachari,²⁹⁹ and take the statement of Rice that the earliest inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings are found in Mysore,³⁰⁰ we may explain the significance of the Bithuragunta grant of Sangama II.³⁰¹ It is a copper plate grant in Sanskrit but Telugu characters. (Fr. Heras says it is also an isolated inscription. His observations on this subject are noteworthy and are to be found on pages 61–65.³⁰²) Nikitin, the Russian traveller, refers to the Hindu Sultan Kadam who resided at Bichenegher,³⁰³ from which Sewell suggests the implication to be a relationship with the old royal house of Banavase.³⁰⁴ Rice has already indicated such an alliance possible.³⁰⁴ This strengthens our belief that the dynasty was Karnāta.

Relations of Harihara and Bukka with Contemporary Rulers, and with the Delhi Sultan—were they Vassals, and of Whom?

If Bhava Sangama was the father of Harihara and Bukka, and if Māramma was one of his wives, their relationship to Kumāra Rāmanātha and his father Kampila can be understood. Then, it will follow that Kampila belonged to the family of Munmadi Singa who was a descendant of the outcaste son of Rājādhirāja Rāmadeva of Deogiri. Any other connection with the Deogiri family does not find mention in any account. Deogiri was a Muhammadan kingdom and contained the capital of Hindustan long before the days of prominence attributed to Harihara and Bukka.

Then, for Kampili rajas has been claimed the credit of relationship with Harihara and Bukka. It has also been suggested that they and their father Sangama fought in their wars with Ballāla III. Inscriptional references are lacking to support this theory. Historians refer to Harihara and Bukka as refugees from Vira Rudra at Wārangal to the court of

²⁹⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, XLIII, p. 113.

³⁰⁰ *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp. 110–11.

³⁰¹ *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 21.

³⁰² *Begs. of Vij. His.*

³⁰³ *India in the XV Century*, p. 29.

³⁰⁴ *F. E.*, p. 22 ; p. XXXVI.

Kampili Deva at Anegondi. It is further suggested that they may have afterwards gone to Ballāla III at Dorasamudra. These would not be inconsistent, even if true, with the theory of Hoysala overlordship. They may have left Anegondi finding their position there intolerable owing to war with the Sultan then going on for a considerable time. The only question is how far this would fit in with the view of Heras that they belonged to the Kesaraja's family as old as the Hoysala themselves, for which there is support in the marital connections between the Hoysalas and Vijayanagara kings. According to the inscriptions, the person associated with the government of Ballāla IV, who is also a relation of Ballāla III, is associated with Harihara and Bukka and accompanies them to Sringeri on the occasion of the festival of empire in 1346.

I have already adverted to the proposition of the vassalage to the Delhi Sultan and endeavoured to establish that it was not likely Harihara and Bukka were the Muhammadan viceroys ruling at Anegondi, with a force sufficient to advance against the Hoysala and beat him. Ballāla had a powerful army, ready to put into the field, against any invading foe. There is no evidence of any scuffle between them in this part of the country. Indeed, after peace was restored, Ballāla and the Kampili kings are said to have marched against Pratāpa Rudra of Wārangal. Hence, even if Harihara and Bukka were in the service of Rāmanātha, there would be no inconsistency in presuming their later subordination to the Hoysalas.

Enthronement of Harihara by Ballāla III

We have already observed that about the time of the conquest of the Kākatīya kingdom by the Muhammadans occurred the first important move of Ballāla III to Tiruvuṇṇāmalai. The object of this move was to strengthen the forts of his country on the northern frontier. I have further referred to the numerous inscriptions which record his residence at Tiruvuṇṇāmalai and Vijayanagara from time to time. I have also stated how private grants were made, from time to time, in different parts of the Hoysala dominions, for the success

of the sword and arm of Ballāla III, his officers and his army.³⁰⁵ If we look at the inscriptions of the period, we will find that in 1297 one Harihara appears as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara in Coorg.³⁰⁶ Between 1330 and 1340, four inscriptions describe him as residing in Vijayanagara. Only once in 1334, he is placed in Dorasamudra. There is no inscription of his at Uṇṇāmale till 1340. It may possibly be that after his visit to Dorasamudra in 1334, Harihara was made Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. Shortly after, according to tradition, in 1335-36, the Empire of Vijayanagara was founded. That Harihara did not assert his independence is clear and even Dr. Venkata Ramanayya only suggests that Harihara was in a position to throw off any foreign yoke in 1340. There is no indication that he was able to do so in 1335-36. Besides, Ballāla IV was anointed at Vijayanagara in 1340.³⁰⁷ Now, if Harihara built a fort at Barakur in 1336³⁰⁸ and Ballāla paid a visit to it, perhaps by way of inspection, and saw the condition of his army there in 1338,³⁰⁹ it follows that like the Hoysalas themselves who were formerly Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras under the Gangas, Harihara was a viceroy of Ballāla. Because, in 1339, Ballāla was at Vijayanagara, ruling in happiness, as sole monarch by his own valour.³¹⁰ This shows that three years after the foundation of the kingdom, Harihara and Bukka could not have thought of shaking off Hoysala suzerainty. For, Ballāla could put into the field a gigantic army besides Muhammadan mercenaries. The Sultan's army at the time was not more than 6,000. Assuming that Harihara and Bukka were subordinates of the Delhi Sultan and could rely on his support, nevertheless it cannot be imagined that they would have dreamed of measuring swords with Ballāla at the time. Indeed, an inscription of the following year, 1340, found at Badami, where a Nāyaka

³⁰⁵ Cf. *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 100, 104.

³⁰⁶ *E. C.*, I, Cg. 59.

³⁰⁷ *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105.

³⁰⁸ Sturrock, *South Canara Manual*, I, p. 55.

³⁰⁹ *E. C.*, V, Ak. 183.

³¹⁰ *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 43.

Chamaraja built a fortress, describes Harihara I as the glorious Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, in his article on the First Vijayanagara Dynasty, stated that Ballāla's change of capital from Dorasamudra to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was due not only as a defence against Muhammadan aggression but to the rising power of his feudatories Harihara and Bukka.³¹¹ Even though this view of Krishna Sastri gains some support from the statement of Ibn Batuta³¹² that a Muhammadan chief of Honnavar was subject to the overlordship of a heathen monarch Hariappa in 1342, and this Hariappa was no other than Harihara I as attested by numerous inscriptions, Heras does not agree with it. He is supported in his inference that Harihara did all this as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, if we rule out the conflicts referred to in poetic accounts between Ballāla and Kampila in which Bhava Sangama took part with the *Bhandāra Cāvilas*, Harihara and Bukka, in the inscription of 1341 which describes Ballāla as being pleased to rule the earth in peace.³¹³ Unless Harihara was acting under the authority of Ballāla, we could not expect the Hoysala Emperor to neglect his in-subordinate chiefs in his own country and march against the Sultan of Madura. For, we find him engaged in war with the latter and in the course of a bitter struggle at Beribi (Chirchi) being killed in 1342. Much less³¹⁴ could we expect the quiet coronation of Ballāla IV thereafter. It may, however, be possible to suggest that this meek and submissive prince gave the much-needed opportunity for Harihara and Bukka to assert themselves, as a consequence of which the Hoysalas fast disappeared from history. In an inscription of 1346, Ballāla appears as a name without any distinguishing titles whatever.

³¹¹ *A. S. I. Report*, 1907-08, p. 236.

³¹² IV, p. 68.

³¹³ *E. C.*, X, Mr. 82.

³¹⁴ *Ibn Batuta*, IV, p. 198.

**Relations between the Hoysalas and the
Vijayanagara Princes**

Hoysala inscriptions from Vinayāditya to Vira Ballāla II acknowledge their allegiance to the Cālukyas and Ballāla II was the first to be styled emperor of the south.³¹⁵ This shows that a nominal recognition of the suzerainty is not inconsistent with an independent existence or activities as may be dictated by the circumstances of the time, including perhaps a war against the titular sovereign himself. Hoysalas themselves, in fact, behaved in this manner against their erstwhile masters, the Gangas. Just as the Hoysalas regarded themselves as the natural and rightful successors of the Gangas in Mysore, so Harihara and Bukka and their successors considered themselves as lords of Kuntala, kings of the Karnāta country and successors of the Hoysala Ballālas of Dorasamudra.

I have already drawn your attention to the fact that Hampe was in the Hoysala dominions, where Ballāla was ruling in happiness, as sole monarch by his own valour.³¹⁶ It had been christened as Sri Vira Vijaya Virūpākṣa Pura, after Ballāla IV, to be anointed later on. That the coronation, as an emergency measure, of the heir-apparent of the Hoysala should take place in the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire is significant. It shows the terms of amity between Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Harihara and Ballāla, the Emperor. Further, a son of Ballāla III was known as Hampiah, etc.³¹⁷ after Hampe, marking a further proof of the connection of the Hoysalas with the Vijayanagara capital. There is a suggestion, that Ballāla IV might even have been born at Hampe but the age of Ballāla is not given and it is hard to conjecture. There is no evidence to support an inference that Ballāla III had run away from Dorasamudra, or that he had sent his people for safety to Hampe and that about 1310 or thereabouts he was born there. On the other hand, the association of Ballappa Dannayika in the government of the country with Ballāla IV when he became king

³¹⁵ *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 292.

³¹⁶ *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 43, 1330.

³¹⁷ *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 129 ; *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105.

goes to indicate that he may have been a minor about 1343 A.D. This negatives the hypothesis of his birth at Hampe in 1310 or 1311. But it could not have been this prince was taken captive to Delhi on the sack of Dorasamudra in 1310 and who had returned in 1316. In 1327, the theory of plunder of Dorasamudra is not generally believed and the only question that then arose was probably the surrender of Bahāudin.

If Harihara and Bukka accompanied Bahāudin, why was their surrender also not demanded and enforced by the Sultan of Delhi? Is it likely that they were not considered of sufficient importance for the purpose? Or, they being Hoysala feudatories, Ballāla took upon himself the responsibility for their good behaviour? These suggestions conflict with the accounts of their captivity at Delhi and subsequent release. I am only putting forward a view for serious consideration. Harihara was perhaps a relation and was made Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. In any case, Harihara and Bukka preserved the integrity of the Hoysala Empire, continued to recognise Hoysala grants, were ornaments of the Karnāṭaka country and were upholders of the religion and *dharma* of the Hoysalas.

Loyalty of the Sangama Dynasty to the Hoysalas

From the enthronement of Harihara I as his Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara by Ballāla III, the position which he occupied in guarding the vulnerable frontiers on the northern side of the Hoysala Empire and the intimate relationships that existed between the Emperor Ballāla and the sons of Sangama, the feudatories may be expected to have stood loyally and faithfully towards their master. The circumstances of the period also demanded integration. Apart from a few stray incidents of an earlier time such as the scuffle at Barakur and the claims of Rāmanātha and Bhava Sangama to have humbled Ballāla, which we have endeavoured to explain, it will be seen that no war for supporting the majesty of the Vijayanagara arms was fought in the Hoysala country. Harihara and Bukka go to Sringeri in the very heart of the Hoysala Empire, far away from Vijayanagara, to celebrate what is called the festival

of empire, a field of the cloth of gold. They are acknowledged throughout the empire without a murmur as legitimate and natural successors of the Hoysalas. The Hoysalas do not run into holes and caves with the Andhras. Such wars as there were in which Ballāla III and his army took part were against the forces of the Delhi Emperor or the Sultan of Madura, not to speak of certain petty chieftains in the west who were subdued. The claim of Harihara II referred to in *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 58, in the year 1384 can only be regarded as indicating the territory under his sway; for if it were that he really conquered all the kingdoms, the implication would be that his predecessors had left the empire in an unsettled condition, even with regard to those very portions of which they claim to have been masters; and evidences of war and rebellion in the Hoysala country would have been forthcoming. 1346 is the year which marks the exit of the last Hoysala Emperor Ballāla IV and the celebration at Sringeri by Harihara and Bukka of the festival of empire. Vallappa Dannayika who attends the festivities was associated with the administration of Ballāla's government. A peaceful and quiet transition, therefore, becomes evident. In that year, again, Harihara I's authority in the Hoysala Empire was also recognised.³¹⁸ I have also referred to certain remission of taxes issued with royal seal under Harihara in Malur. He appears with some of the common Hoysala titles, subduer of hostile kings, champion over kings who break their word, etc.³¹⁹ These identical titles are mentioned also in the Sringeri inscription. Six years later, Bukka was ruling at the Hoysala capital itself.³²⁰

It is not known whether Ballāla IV left any heir at all or whether Harihara was not the nearest of all his relatives then alive. Even if Mayili Nāyaka was a son, he must have died before Ballāla as he is not referred to after 1340.³²¹ However, a couple of years later in 1355, we find Harihara described as

³¹⁸ *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 47.

³¹⁹ *E. C.*, X, Mr. 39.

³²⁰ *Mad. Ep. Rep.*, 1906, p. 522.

³²¹ *E. C.*, IX, Ma. 81.

Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Harihara Rāya Wodeyar.³²² Likewise, in the same year, Bukka is described as a **Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara** ruling at Hosapattana in the Hoysala country.³²³ Further, an inscription of Bukka I refers to the country of the strong armed king Viṣṇuvardhana Pratāpa Hoysala³²⁴ where he then resided, indicating the regard he had to the Ballāla country. The loyalty of the Sangama dynasty to the Hoysala may be said to be undisputed.

Fr. Heras reads into *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 59 and *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256 that when Ballāla IV died, Bukka took the place of Yuvaraja or heir-apparent, and that till then both were only **Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras**. There is, in fact, no inscription which refers to them otherwise till 1346. Harihara is never called king but always **Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara**;³²⁵ Bukka is so called in 1344 and in 1346.³²⁶

That the Vijayanagara kings always recognised their great debt of gratitude to the Hoysala dynasty is further exemplified by the fact that long after the last vestiges of the Hoysalas had disappeared, the rulers of Vijayanagara continued to be called **Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras** like the Hoysalas before them with reference to the Cālukyas. Three inscriptions of Harihara between the years 1347 and 1355 and a number of inscriptions of the reign of Bukka for a period of close upon two decades describe the rulers of Vijayanagara who are lords of the earth between the oceans, east and west, as **Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras**. A list of them is given by Heras collected from the archaeological publications, and the interested reader is referred to them.³²⁷ Harihara II was the first to take away these distinctions of subordination and proclaim himself emperor; till then, princes, great chieftains and **Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras**

³²² *M. A. R.*, 1919, p. 33.

³²³ *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, p. 339.

³²⁴ *E. C.*, IV, Ch. 113.

³²⁵ 1339-40, *Ind. Ant.*, X, 63; *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1; VIII, Tl. 154; IX, Bn. 47, 59; X, Mr. 61 (1346).

³²⁶ 1344—*E. C.*, X, Ct. 89; 1346—IX, Bn. 59.

³²⁷ Heras, *Begs.*, pp. 111-12.

were they, thereby showing reverence to their political predecessors, in whose Karnāṭaka country, they held sway. The absence of the imperial title of Mahārājādhirāja indicates their love and affection and esteem and regard for the Hoysala rulers.

Ballāla III's enemies, the Emperor of Delhi and the Madura Sultan were alike the enemies of Harihara and Bukka. They freed the South from the Muhammadan yoke, and thus revenged the cruel fate of Ballāla III.

In concluding this portion of the subject, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar suggests that the strong position of the Muhammadans in the south of India was responsible for the delay in Harihara and his successors in assuming royal titles.³²⁸ I do not know whether it implies Harihara and Bukka as Muhammadan vassals in the beginning but that view is hardly consistent with the development of his great theory that the origin of the Vijayanagara Empire was a supreme Hindu effort led by Vira Ballāla in an organised struggle for separate existence and for the protection of the Hindu religion. This latter statement supports the theory of loyalty more than that of fear of the Muhammadan rulers by princes who celebrated the festival of victory in 1346, marching triumphantly from Vijayanagara to Sringeri, and they would not be likely to be afraid of proclaiming themselves as emperors, more particularly when there was no hostile army in their vast dominions.

Fr. Heras sums up the position of Harihara and his brothers with reference to the Hoysala Empire in these words : " Thus, the whole northern frontier of the Hoysala Empire was confided to the valour and loyalty of the sons of Sangama : Kampa, in the east, Harihara and Bukka in the centre, Mārappa in the west. Bukka himself was perhaps appointed governor of the ancient capital of Dorasamudra ; evidently some of ' his kinsmen ' whom Ballāla had convened to prepare for the defence of the Empire."

If *Ferishta's* reference to Bilal Dev convening a meeting of his kinsmen and to his arrangement for protecting the

³²⁸ *S. I. M. I.*, pp. 20-32.

forts of his country be in 1328, as it probably was, the fact is significant. On the conquest of Wārangal in 1327 by the Muhammadans, Kanya Nāyak or Krishna Nāyaka must have met Ballāla III in 1328. The meeting place must have been Tiruvuṇṇāmalai where we find Ballāla during the course of this year. The kinsmen referred to were probably his great ministers and generals Ballappa Dannayaka and Singeya Nāyaka, for they were also at this place at the time ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom.³²⁹ A number of other generals had joined Ballāla on the occasion. The strong armed Bhīmarāya, the princes Kaṭhōra Hara, Simha-Raghu-nātha, Kāḷamegha, and Vira Śānta, and Baicheya Dannayaka are mentioned, from which an inference is made that the question was of great and urgent importance. Kaṭhōra Hara is identified as Harihara.³³⁰ This gathers strength from an earlier inscription of Ballāla III,³³¹ mentioning Devappa-Hariappa immediately after the emperor and describing him as *Sarvādhipati*, thus indicating that Harihara was probably a minister for peace and war, a state officer of Ballāla, in that part of the country at the time.

Birudas of the Two Dynasties

Let us compare the birudas of the two dynasties, Hoysala and Vijayanagara. We shall see it will be very interesting indeed. The Hoysalas were descended of the Yadu race and its great ornaments. They were in fact—

Ornaments of the Yadu Vamśa

Upraisers, kings of the Yadukula, and

Suns in the Yādava Sky, in the

Sky of the Yadu Kula, in the Yadu family.

Indeed, it was Yadu Vamśa which became known as Hoysala Vamśa.³³² If we should follow Heras' view that Sangama was born of the Kesiraja family, then he belonged to a line

³²⁹ *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 4,

³³⁰ *Rege.*, pp. 123-25. Cf. Venkataramanayya's criticisms in his 'Origins'.

³³¹ *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 19.

³³² *E. C.*, V, Hn. 65; Bl. 86, 171, etc.

where from the tree of plenty, Yadu Vamśa sprang as branches in the Hoysalānvaya.

The Vijayanagara kings even as late as 1355, the year perhaps when Harihara died and was succeeded by Bukka, are both called Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras. Like the Hoysala emperors, Bukka is also styled a destroyer of rulers, the conqueror of hostile kings, the lord of the eastern and western oceans, the punisher of kings who break their word, a thunderbolt to the mountain chains of hostile kings, a king at the brandishing of whose sword the earth trembles, a lion to the rutting elephants of the hostile kings, a crowning ornament to the wisest rulers, etc., etc. Most of these attributes, if not all, are the titles of Hoysala kings. They also became *Sarva-bhoumas*.

Besides, like the titles, the pearl of the heroes of Yadu Vamśa, boon lord of Dvāravati pura, maintainer of the orders of the old kings of Hoysalanād, the imprecatory verses in the inscriptions of both dynasties in the Kannada language are the same.

Relations between Harihara and his Brothers *inter se*

In our account, so far, we have sufficiently indicated the feelings that governed the rulers of Vijayanagara towards their erstwhile masters the Hoysalas. We have there found how reverential they were to the acts of the Hoysala emperors and to their several grants. It was only after Ballāla IV died, that Bukka became a Yuvaraja or heir-apparent.

Very few inscriptions mention Harihara I, probably because he was an old man and was all but eclipsed by his greater brother, Bukka. The other brothers were governing the different parts of the kingdom as viceroys. Harihara, Bukka, Mārappa, Kampana and Muddappa were five brothers and the relations between them must have been very cordial.

If Deo Rao be taken to be Harihara I and not Ballāla IV and if we follow Nuniz, we shall find that Harihara ruled for seven years and died, therefore, in 1343, calculating from 1336

the traditional date for the origin of the empire. If, on the other hand, we equate Deo Rao with Ballāla III and still give seven years to Harihara, dating from 1346, the year of Ballāla IV's death, the date will be about 1353 A.D. I have already stated that, according to an inscription of 1346, Ballāla appears without any title whatsoever and there are indications to suggest that Harihara died in 1355 and was succeeded by Bukka I in the year in which both are described as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras.³³³ This also appears probable because it was in 1347 that the Muhammadans were able to throw off the Delhi overlordship and found the Bahamini Kingdom.

If Harihara I were to be succeeded by Bukka I and the relations between the brothers were cordial, there appearing nothing to the contrary, it follows that if Harihara had any sons they should have predeceased him. There is no evidence of any fratricidal strife for succession to the throne, or of the existence of a son after Harihara's death.

Kampana was performing the arduous task of keeping the Muhammadans at bay in the Nellore district on the northern frontier, Udayagiri being fortified as a bulwark against advance from Wārangal. Sangama II, son of Kampana, mentions Harihara I in the grant. Sāyana, the famous commentator and brother of Mādhava-Vidyāranya, was a minister at this court and if the suggestion of Vidyāranya being all influential at the Court of Vijayanagara be true, the consolidation of the Empire, with equal amity and good feeling amongst the brothers, gains additional weight.

Bukka I was the most famous of the brothers and accompanied Harihara to Sringeri in 1346, according to *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1. During his brother's lifetime, he was made Yuvaraja.³³⁴ As early as 1346,³³⁵ both the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras, with their usual titles, Ariyappa Udaiyar and Bukka Udaiyar, were ruling the earth. This must have continued till 1355,

³³³ *M. A. R.*, 1919, p. 33.

³³⁴ *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256.

³³⁵ *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 59 (1346).

the last reference to Harihara being in that year.³³⁶ In that year, Bukka is said to have been ruling from the jewelled throne at the capital. It is not impossible that during Harihara's lifetime, Bukka was governing from Dorasamudra where he was ruling in 1352 as a Yuvaraja.³³⁷ Heras makes a curious suggestion, not altogether without some basis, that Ballāla III might have left Bukka at Dorasamudra when he was constantly travelling about between his different capitals in the north. To a certain extent, this fact may have been responsible for the great influence which he was able to command in the Hoysala dominions in his day and for the peaceful condition of the empire. The easy transition of overlordship possibly indicates that Bukka was securing his position while Ballāla was absent abroad, entrenching himself upon the loving regard of the people. Not that he was traitorous in his designs but that a good, sound administration met with its inevitable sequel when the opportunity arose and times were propitious.

The fourth son of Sangama was Mārappa who was ruling at Cañdragutti in the western parts called the *Malerajya* or Araga kingdom. His expeditions are extolled in an inscription of 1347.³³⁸ The theory of Heras suggesting that he was originally Ballāla III's viceroy in those parts does not fit in with certain inscriptions which refer to Ballāla III running to that part of the country when a fort was built there and with his scuffles with Bhava Sangama. This question has, however, been already dealt with and no useful suggestion can be added. The Chief of Honnāvara in his jurisdiction recognised Harihara I.

Of Muddappa we know and hear nothing and he must have died before Harihara and Bukka came to prominence. All the brothers visited Sringeri in 1346 and naturally the others recognised the suzerainty of the eldest of them, Harihara I.

³³⁶ *M. A. R.*, 1919, p. 23.

³³⁷ *Mad. Ep. Rep.*, 1906, p. 522.

³³⁸ *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.

Contribution of the Sringeri Maṭha to the Great South Indian Confederation of the Hindus

Describing the condition of South India in the early fourteenth century when, after the inroads of Allaiddin Khilji into the South, the Muhammadan stood as arbiter for a time, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the well-known historian of the South Indian kingdoms, says that they soon recovered, thus marking a period of Hindu progress in all directions. For, Hinduism then assumed its present shape. Religion was readjusted to the requirements of the masses. Classical Sanskrit as well as indigenous literature received considerable patronage. Administration was highly organised. Revivalism in religion and reinvestigation received a great impetus. When Muhammadan invasions broke in overturning everything, local reaction led to the foundation of a large and united Hindu Empire.³³⁹

As V. A. Smith says : " The influence exercised by Rāmānuja and other southern sages on the whole country from Cape Comorin to the recesses of the snowy mountains is the best evidence of that inner unity of Hindu India which survives the powerful disintegrating forces set in motion by diversity in blood, manners, customs and political allegiance."³⁴⁰ In spite of political upheavals, the spirit of India always guards a common heritage and there is an amazing unity in her diversity. Indian culture is wide spread all over the country and in the words of Sir Frederick Whyte (The future of the East and West), the greatest of all the contradictions in India is that over this diversity is spread a greater unity, which is not immediately evident because it failed historically to find expression in any political cohesion to make the country one,

³³⁹ *His. of South India*, Vol. 1 ; Sewell, *F. E.*, p. 64 ; Bego, *S. K. I.*, pp. 143-51 ; Beveridge, I, p. 91 ; V. A. Smith, *Ox. His. Ind.*, p. 300.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

but which is so great a reality, and so powerful, that even the Musalman World of India has to confess that it has been deeply affected by coming within its influence.

Mr. Longhurst says that according to most authorities, about 1336, Harihara and Bukka founded Vijayanagara, immediately on the disappearance of the Hoysalas from the stage of history. They were, probably, subordinates of or connected with the Hoysalas and were aided in their enterprise by the head of the Sringeri Māṭha, who became the first minister of the new state.³⁴¹

Sewell refers to the possibility of the oldest shrine at the ruins of Hampi being used by a succession of religious recluses one of whom was Vidyāranya, whose actual existence at the time is attested by every tradition regarding the origin of Vijayanagara.³⁴² Foreign travellers who visited the famous city and have left written records of their impressions, even where they differ regarding the relationships of Harihara and Bukka with other ruling families, nevertheless refer to Vidyāranya's contribution to the foundation.³⁴³

The emblems on the coins of the Vijayanagara dynasty indicate a complete revival of the old Hindu religion and its recognition as a state religion. The coins of the earlier kings bear distinctly Śaivite emblems unlike the later ones having Vaiṣṇava devices.³⁴⁴

In his account of the Vijayanagara Empire, Rice recalls the assistance rendered by Vidyāranya, the celebrated scholar Mādhava, in the foundation of the Empire, as agreed to by all accounts. The capital was named after him, in honour of the sage who was chiefly instrumental for it. The Hindu kingdoms had fallen a prey to the Muhammadans and the brothers took advantage of the period of commotion arising

³⁴¹ *Hampi Ruins*, p. 11 ; Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Ins.*, pp. 207-08.

³⁴² *F. E.*, p. 20.

³⁴³ Rice, *Mysore*, p. 344.

³⁴⁴ *Q. J. M. S.*, III, p. 9.

out of the rash measures of Muhammad Taghlak. Mādhava may have contributed besides experience and talent, financially towards this undertaking. For, the gurus of the Sringeri Maṭha were at that time, according to Wilson, apprehensive of the increasing number of Jangamas and the approach of the Muhammadans. Their wealth and influence were consequently placed at the disposal of Harihara and Bukka.

Though Harihara and Bukka are generally credited with the foundation of Vijayanagara, with the financial assistance, perhaps, and advice of Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda of Sringeri, as we have set out previously, Ballāla III must have participated in the foundation, even if he were not primarily responsible for it. The great veneration in which the Hoysala Emperors were held by the Vijayanagara rulers, long after the dismemberment of the Hoysala dominions and the firm establishment of Vijayanagara, lends remarkable support to this view. The famous Keśava temple at Belur commanded the devotion of Harihara II, who in the very first year of his reign, 1380, confirmed the former Hoysala grants to the temple.³⁴⁵ The Belur god, among other things, raises up the poor to royal dignity. Hoysala kings were illustrious and Viṣṇuvardhana was illustrious, according to this inscription of the Vijayanagara ruler. Thus, the Vijayanagara kings, true to the teachings of Vidyāraṇya, fostered a spirit of toleration, the basic principle of the old Vedic religion.³⁴⁶

We are told that Vidyāraṇya or the gurus at Sringeri rendered considerable assistance, financial and otherwise, in the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire.³⁴⁷ Numerous inscriptions relate the story of Vidyāraṇya and describe his influence with the early Vijayanagara kings; historians and travellers record the traditions they heard in this behalf; but the actual references to the part played by the Sringeri Maṭha

³⁴⁵ Rice, *Mys. Cog. Ins.*, p. 226.

³⁴⁶ *Q. J. M. S.*, III, p. 9.

³⁴⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 63; *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, pp. 340-41; Elliot, *Coins*, p. 91.

as such, as distinguished from Vidyāranya are not many and if we exclude those that refer to Vidyāśankara, it will be found that the contribution of the Sringeri Maṭha except through these great personalities of the period is not much. Besides, except that the Sringeri Maṭha was founded by Sri Śankara, very little is known about its religious or secular activities till the beginnings of Vijayanagara. Its importance and rise to fame is contemporaneous with the foundation of the great Empire, and may be considered sufficient to warrant the general inference regarding contribution of its gurus in the origin of the edifice which preserved the religion and the *Dharma* of the Hindus.

As regards the rulers that may have joined in this great Hindu confederation, we have described in great detail and stated clearly (1) that the people of Deogiri may have sympathised, with much reason, with the movement, though that kingdom itself was a Muhammadan province, (2) that in 1328 the Anegondi Rājya was a part of the Delhi Sultanate, (3) that Ballāla had been obliged to surrender Bahauddin and (4) that the Kākatiya kingdom had been lost to the Hindus.

Kanya Nāyak of Wārangal is alleged to have been carrying on negotiations with Ballāla III about 1328, when the latter convened a meeting of his kinsmen and arranged for fortifying the forts of the country. If Harihara and Bukka were under Ballāla at the time and took a prominent part as his viceroys, their reputation for founding the Empire is confirmed by historical circumstance. If they were prisoners of war and were later on released by the Sultan to fight Ballāla in the South, then there was no South Indian organisation as alleged. I have fully dealt with this aspect before and I am now assuming the position taken up formerly that Harihara and Bukka were Hoysala feudatories, perhaps also related to them, and joined in the foundation of the Empire.

Why should the gurus of Sringeri have associated themselves with this political movement of the Hindu Rājas? Two reasons have been suggested, one, the fear of the Muhammadan and the other, the increasing number of Jangamas (the ascetics

of the Lingayat community) in the country. Amongst others may be mentioned the following :—

1. When Śrīrangam was captured and sacked by the Muhammadans in 1327, the God was taken for refuge, followed by Pillai Lokācārya.³⁴⁸ On the occasion of the Muhammadan occupation, fearing the temple in danger, the Ranganātha deity was removed ultimately to Tirupati. Vedānta Desika himself was a refugee at Satyamangalam.³⁴⁹ Śrī Vaiṣṇavas, no less than the Smārthas, were afraid of Muhammadan hegemony and were anxious to join in an all-Hindu confederacy to drive the Muhammadan from South India. Vedānta Desika, though he externally championed Vaiṣṇavism against Śaivism and its great leader Vidyāraṇya, was internally opposed to heretics and anxious to protect Hinduism itself.³⁵⁰

2. The followers of the Dvaita or Madhva school of Hindu thought likewise associated themselves with Vidyāraṇya sinking, for the time, their sectional differences.

3. The statesmanship and political foresight of Vidyāraṇya was assisted by his friendship with the leaders of other religious schools of thought and his supreme influence at the court of the Vijayanagara rulers was of great aid in the accomplishment of this remarkable undertaking.

Vidyāśankara

The most outstanding reference to Vidyātīrtha or Vidyāśankara is to be found in the Sringeri inscription of 1346.³⁵¹ Bukka became great with the assistance of Vidyātīrthamuni.³⁵² His grace helped Bukka to become king and sole lord.³⁵³

In the *Mysore Archaeological Reports for 1928*, published by the Mysore University, a narrative of the teachers of Sringeri

³⁴⁸ *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 111.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

³⁵⁰ *Life and Times of Vedānta Desika*, V. Rangachari, p. 278.

³⁵¹ *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1.

³⁵² Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p. 11.

³⁵³ *E. C.*, IV, Yd. 46, 1377.

is given. The account is taken from *Guruvamśa kāvya*, a Sanskrit work composed by Lakṣmaṇa Śāstri, son of Viśveśvara Śāstri, under the orders of Saccidānanda Bhārati (1705–1741), a disciple of Nṛsiṃha Bhārati Swāmi. Dr. Krishna considers the work to be of considerable biographical value and as recording a faithful account of all available traditional information regarding the Jagadgurus of Sringeri. It is said to have been subjected to a critical examination, before publishing the summary.³⁵⁴ According to this account, Vidyātīrtha or Vidyāśankara was learned in all the śāstras and expert in *tantra* and *mantra*. The younger of the two sons of a learned Brahmin left Wārangal, having no taste for worldly pleasures, set out on a pilgrimage and reached Sringeri in the course of a pilgrimage, where he was initiated by Vidyāśankara, as Bhārati Kṛṣṇa. Mādhava followed, in search of him, and reached Sringeri a few years afterwards. Admiring his learning, Vidyāśankara initiated him into the *sanyāsa āśrama* as Vidyāraṇya.

Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar in *M. A. R.*, 1916, refers to Vidyātīrtha, as perhaps the greatest name in the list of the gurus at Sringeri. For, he secured a high status for the Maṭha, and was specially honoured and revered by the early Vijayanagara kings owing to his sanctity and learning. It was likely, Harihara and Bukka were helped by him in the foundation of their Empire.³⁵⁵ There are also images of Vidyātīrtha in Sringeri, in the *Cinmudra* (teaching) pose.³⁵⁶

He is praised in another inscription of 1356, as Lord of the Ascetics, surpassing the Sun by his ability to remove both the internal and external darkness of men both day and night. When Bukka visited him to pay him homage, he granted extensive lands. Likewise, in the Sringeri Kadita of 1380, he is referred to with reverence, along with others.³⁵⁷ When

³⁵⁴ See pp. 15–20 ; 35–55.

³⁵⁵ P. 15.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁵⁷ *M. A. R.*, p. 56.

Bukka wanted Vidyāraṇya to return from Kāśī to Vijayanagara, he got an order from Vidyātīrtha.³⁵⁸ When a temple, a most beautiful type of Hoysala architecture, was constructed at Sringeri to his memory, on the occasion of the consecration ceremony, vast lands were granted.³⁵⁹

No doubt, there are some discrepancies regarding dates. According to tradition, the consecration of the temple was in 1338; the Bithragunta grant suggests it was after 1356;³⁶⁰ *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1, implies the existence of Vidyāśankara in 1346. If there could be two sanyāsis at the same time, only one of them occupying the pontifical office, of which there is evidence, there is nothing improbable in the inscriptions referring to both of them, or either of them.

The greatness of Vidyātīrtha is described in another inscription of 1386. "None of the four kinds of speech, *parā*, *paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikarī*, is capable of adequately describing the greatness of Vidyātīrtha."³⁶¹ "The swan Bukka sports happily near the lotus Bhāratitīrtha which having sprung from Vidyātīrtha (the water of learning), possesses the fragrance of joy from a knowledge of non-dualism and expands by the rays of the sun Vidyāraṇya."³⁶²

Prof. Venkateswara considers that Harihara and Bukka must have made homage at Anegondi to Vidyātīrtha who was the guru at Sringeri at the time, according to epigraphical evidence.³⁶³ Bukka was a worshipper at the lotus feet of Vidyātīrtheśa.³⁶⁴

This Vidyātīrtha is said to have been known as Śrīkanṭha before he became a sanyāsi.³⁶⁵ He was a disciple of

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³⁵⁹ See also, *Q. J. M. S.*, VIII, p. 18 *in tra.*

³⁶⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 23.

³⁶¹ *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 58.

³⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

³⁶³ *New Lights*, p. 7.

³⁶⁴ *M. A. R.*, 1908 and 1915.

³⁶⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, III, 23.

Paramātmātīrtha. According to Prof. Venkateswara, Vidyātīrtha, Bharātītīrtha and Śrīkanṭha refer to the same individual guru who was also known as Vidyāśankara.³⁶⁶ He further considers his secular name as Sarvajña Viṣṇu, son of Sāraṅgapāṇi. Sarvajña Viṣṇu had another brother called Chennu bhaṭṭa. He refers to *Sarvadarśana Saṅgraha* and *Tarkhaśa Vyākhyā* and *J. R. A. S.*, 1916, in support of his inference, and considers Sāyana's reference to Sahaja Sarvajña Viṣṇu Bhattopādhyāya in *Śankara Darśana* strengthens it.³⁶⁷

If the Vijayanagara kingdom came to Bukka from a glance of his,³⁶⁸ the greatness of the guru is undoubted.

This guru is said to have been born at Bilvāranya. He was the son of Sāraṅgapāṇi. His dates are 1296–1384. He was also called Sarvajña Viṣṇu, Vidyānātha, Vidyāśankara, Vidyēśa and by several other names. He is said to have lived for seventy-three years at Kancī, made penance for fifteen years at the foot of the Himalayas as an *anucara* of Śankara, and later revived Sringeri where the Lingayat influence was affecting the Maṭha. He was the guru of Mādhava, Bukka and Bhārati yati. He was also called Abhinava Śankara. According to a more literal interpretation of the text without the colophons, Śankarānanda will be a disciple of Vidyātīrtha, and afterwards becomes navamatinātha and navaśankara, thus adding to the confusion of the names already existing.³⁶⁹

An inscription of Harihara II S. 1304 praises Bukka I and refers to a grant made with the permission of Harihara 'who was a bee at the lotus feet of Triyambaka and the pupil of the teachers Kriyāśakti (and) Vidyāranya.'³⁷⁰ Several inscriptions refer to one Rājaguru Kriyāśakti, spiritual preceptor of Bukka,³⁷¹ Harihara³⁷² and Devarāya,³⁷³ of Vijayanagara.

³⁶⁶ *New Lights*, p. 11.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

³⁶⁸ *Yd.* 46.

³⁶⁹ *Punyaślokamanjari*, 51-52.

³⁷⁰ *A. S. I.*, 1925-26, p. 137.

³⁷¹ *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281.

³⁷² *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256.

³⁷³ *E. C.*, XI, Dg. 23.

Dr. A. Venkatasubbaiya deals in detail with this subject of Rājaguru Kriyāśakti in an exhaustive article contributed to the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*,³⁷⁴ and I shall have occasion to consider it later on. But I have mentioned it here because, a Mulbagal inscription engraved on the wall of a temple says that when a guru Kriyāśakti went to heaven, Bukka II made a gift of lands to his guru who had now taken the form of Vidyāśankara. This was in 1389 A.D.³⁷⁵ While Mr. R. Narasimhachar considers this gift to have been made for the image in Sringeri,³⁷⁶ Dr. Venkatasubbaiya considers it to have been for Kriyāśakti. Mr. Narasimhachar's suggested identification of Kriyāśakti with Vidyātīrtha is not accepted by him. There is a view that the reference may be to Vidyāranya himself. A study of the image at Hampe would suggest this identification. (See *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 232-235.)

Sāyana and his Brothers

Let us now pass on from Vidyātīrtha to Mādhava and his brothers Sāyana and Bhoganātha. The family of Mādhava is sometimes traced to Pyapali in the Kurnool District. It is said to have been Mādhavācārya's residence for some time and a branch of the Hampe Virūpākṣa Mutt exists there.

Mādhava, Sāyana and Bhoganātha were brothers and they were sons of Māyana and Śrīmatī of Bhāradvāja gotra, Bodhāyana sūtra and Yajus śākha.³⁷⁷ The brothers were all well disposed towards Harihara and Bukka and with their assistance established the prosperity of the Karnāṭaka kingdom. There is a suggestion that the family name was Sāyana. The sister of the brothers was Singale.³⁷⁸ Mādhava and Sāyana are described as great ministers.³⁷⁹ Mādhava was styled Sarvajña, all-knowing.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁴ *E. C.*, VII, p. 157, Intro.

³⁷⁵ *E. C.*, VIII, p. 118, Intro.

³⁷⁶ *M. A. R.*, 1907-08, pp. 15, 55.

³⁷⁷ *P.* of 1368 A.D.

³⁷⁸ *S. I. I.*, IV, p. 62, No. 267.

³⁷⁹ *A. R.*, No. 38 of 1889.

³⁸⁰ *C.P.* of 1368 A.D.

The record of S.I.I. above referred to (Vol. IV, p. 62, No. 267) is a noteworthy poetical record of the minister Lakṣmaṇa, during the time of Devarāya I (1406-1418 A.D.). He was a nephew of the famous brothers and himself a poet of great literary merit and the patron of the Kannada poet Madhura.³⁸¹ The inscription is on a stone lying on the southern slope of a rock to the north of the Krishna Bazaar which is on the southern side of the Krishnaswami temple in Hampe. Over the inscription within a floral arch are cut, in relief, on the left side a linga on a pedestal underneath a prabhā with the Sun above it. To its right is a standing worshipper and behind him a seated bull with the Moon above it. There are 134 lines in the inscription. The Hoysala imprecatory verse ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಜಿ, etc. begins the record. Then follows the genealogy of the Vijayanagara kings commencing from Sangama. Of the ministers are Mādarasa and Sāyana, the chief ones and their works are praised. Their sister Singale gives birth to Lakṣmīdhara. This was written by Dharnoja of Harihara. Mādarasa of the inscription must therefore be Mādhava, brother of Sāyana and later on in his life famous as Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda of Sringeri. The importance of this record will be considered subsequently in discussing the identity of the two Mādhavas met with in the inscriptions and the literature of the period.

As regards Sāyana and Bhoganātha, they, like their brother Mādhava, belonged to the Advaita school of philosophy and the eldest of the brothers was the greatest of all. Sāyana was the author of a number of works and was, besides, a minister. In former times, Sāyana was considered another name for Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya, perhaps a family name assumed by him in his works. Sāyana refers to his elder brother as the hereditary minister of King Bukka in the opening verses of *Puruṣārtha-Sudhānidhi*.³⁸² Sāyana is the commentator of the *Pūrva* and *Uttara Mimāmsas* and the expounder of the meaning of the Vedas. Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar gives

³⁸¹ S. I. I., p. 136, Dr. Hultzsch.

³⁸² Q. J. M. S., VII, p. 319.

details about Sāyana and Bhoganātha in the *Indian Antiquary* for Jan. and Feb. 1916, Vol. XLV, Parts DLXV and DLXVI.

Śrīkaṇṭha was the guru of these brothers as well as of Sangama, whose *narma saciva* (boon companion and minister) Bhoganātha composed the Bithragunta inscription.³⁸³ Sāyana was the minister under Bukka I, Kampana, Sangama II and Harihara II as will appear from the colophons of his various works. He had three sons Kampana, a musician, Māyana, and Singana, a Vedic student. He was regent of the kingdom during Sangama's ministry, and was also his teacher. He was a warrior besides being a great and successful minister.³⁸⁴ In A.D. 1377 a gift is made, referring to them as donees.³⁸⁵ He died in 1387.³⁸⁶

The Origin of the Story of Vidyāranya

I have already referred to the origin and foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and have said that most of the accounts, whether they agree or not with the part played by Ballāla III in its foundation and the relationship of Harihara and Bukka to Ballāla, nevertheless agree in connecting Vidyāranya with the beginnings of Vijayanagara. The several traditions recorded by Buchanan culled from *Grāma paddhathis*, inscriptional references from various parts of Mysore and the old Vijayanagara Empire, the accounts of foreign travellers, and literary compositions all go to indicate that Vidyāranya Mādhava must have had something to do with the original foundation. Whether he did it himself or by exercising his influence through his guru Vidyātīrtha, that considerable assistance must have been rendered by him appears to have been the general consensus of opinion. It is indeed said that the capital of the Empire was called Vidyānagara in honour of Vidyāranya who was responsible for the foundation.

³⁸³ *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 23.

³⁸⁴ *M. A. R.*, 1915, p. 89.

³⁸⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 70.

³⁸⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 71.

Rev. Heras enters a *caveat*. In the course of two lectures delivered under the auspices of the Mysore University and since published in book-form he develops his views on this subject. He is a very critical student of history and any remark of his deserves the greatest consideration. He makes a very thorough study of the inscriptions and bases his conclusions on a close scrutiny of the authorities. If I differ from his remarks, I do so with the greatest respect.

Rev. Heras discounts the value of tradition, inscriptional references, accounts of travellers and the name of the capital as Vidyānagara. He further finds the inscriptions bearing on these to be mostly spurious and deliberate forgeries. The story of Vidyāranya, that he helped the foundation of the Empire, is connected with the name of Vidyānagara given to the capital: and it presupposes the veracity of the legend of Vidyāranya. In dealing with the legendary stories about the foundation of Vijayanagara, he refers to Nuniz's account given by Sewell,³⁸⁷ to the Kolar inscription,³⁸⁸ and to the inscription of the Nellore District.³⁸⁹ He arranges the matter in a tabular form on pp. 5-7 of his book and gives his conclusions therefrom on p. 8. According to him, Nuniz gives a more sober account than what is contained in the Kolar and the Nellore inscriptions which give a more elaborate story of the hare and the dog, thus suggesting a later period for their date. The name of the ascetic is not found in Nuniz and his advice is simple. The other accounts extol Vidyāranya; Harihara and his family are praised in the Nellore grant. The Kolar and Nellore grants must have come into existence during the reigns of Acyuta Rāya or Sadāśiva Rāya, subsequent to the chronicle of Nuniz about 1520. Having no authority, Heras thinks, they must be rejected.³⁹⁰ On p. 9, Heras rejects the value of *Rājakālanirṇaya*, relying on Gopinatha Rao.³⁹¹

³⁸⁷ *F. E.*, 299-300.

³⁸⁸ *E. C.*, X, Bg. 70.

³⁸⁹ Butterworth, I, pp. 114-15.

³⁹⁰ *Begs.*, p. 8.

³⁹¹ *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 10.

That not much value could be attached to such traditions and legendary stories is clear from the fact that almost every ruling family has its origin under similar circumstances. The Bahamini dynasty arose on the seizure by a dog of a hare by its tail.³⁹² So was the origin of the Nāyakas of Tarikere according to Rice.³⁹³ And Heras might have also added that the Hoysalas arose from 'Adam Poy Sala' said to Sala by a *muni*, according to numerous inscriptions and Sala and the mythical tiger borne on their crest, while their original home became Śaśakapuri.

Apart from the story of the dog and the hare, there are also other traditions referring to the devotion of the shepherd Bukka to Vidyāraṇya, and to Mādhava discovering hidden treasure by the aid of the Goddess Bhuvaneśvari, with which to build the capital, ruling over it and at his death making a gift of it to a Kuruba family.³⁹⁴

But Heras concludes after commenting on Suryanarayana Rao³⁹⁵ that there is no historical fact to support these traditions.

If then it should be said that whatever may be the veracity of the dog and the hare legend, Mādhava may have really contributed towards the foundation of Vijayanagara, on the authority of the inscriptions, Heras here again says that the inscriptions referring to it are not reliable. On pp. 10-19 of his book under consideration, he refers to a few inscriptions.³⁹⁶

All these refer to Vidyānagara built by Mādhava, i.e., Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda of Sringeri Maṭha. As for the last one dated 1336 which, if true, would settle the controversy, he considers its authenticity doubtful. The South Indian collections do not refer to it and the Government Epigraphist does not know if it was ever copied and has not seen a facsimile

³⁹² *Ind. Ant.*, XXVIII, p. 218.

³⁹³ *Mysore*, II, p. 447.

³⁹⁴ *Begs.*, p. 10.

³⁹⁵ *N. F. E.*, p. 27.

³⁹⁶ *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 79, 1154; VI, Sg. 11, 1652; XI, Cd. 45, 1538; Cl. 54, 1559; VII, Ci. 62, 1565; *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 47, 1652; *N. F. E.*, p. 9, 1336.

of it. Heras may not be quite accurate in saying that Suryanarayana Rao published it for the first time for, as I have already stated in the previous lecture, Buchanan gives it as an account from *Grāma paddhathi*. That Suryanarayana Rao did not draw it from his imagination is certain and, whatever its authenticity or historic value, such a record does, as a matter of fact, now exist though not in the form of an inscription perhaps as set out by Suryanarayana Rao. For the sake of convenience, I shall refer to them both here.

Buchanan

pp. 277-78 (17th Feb. 1801)

According to Rāmappa the date is 1335-36. When Daria Soructa cut off Rāmanātha's head and Pratāpa Rudra's kingdom was conquered by the Mlechchas, Harihara and Bukka, guards of his treasury, came to Sri Maha Vidyāraṇya Maha Swami (who according to Rāmappa was guru to the late king and the 11th successor of Śankarācārya on the throne of Sringeri) and solicited his favour. The Maha Swami visited God, and acted according to his orders. In seven years, the whole city was built. In the year *Dātu*, being 1258 of the era of Śālivāhanam (A.D. 1335-36), in the 7th day of the Moon in Vaiśāka, being Wednesday, under the constellation *Mocca*, in *Abhijin Muhūrtha*, and in *Singa lagna*, he took Hucca and Bucca and crowned the former in the year *Kaliyuga* 4437.

Suryanarayana Rao

(p. 10)

Nagashwarkāy, Namitasakay Salivahasayayata, Dhaturya-bday, Sagunasahitay Masa Visaki Namny Suklay Pakshay Suraguruyutay Soumya Varay Sulagnay, Saptamyam Sri Vijayanagaray Nirmamay Ner-inamandra. *i.e.* On Wednesday, the 7th lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśāka, in the year *Dātu*, S.S. 1258, in an auspicious time with Guru (Jupiter) in the rising sign (lagna) I, the prince of ascetics, have constructed this city in Vijayanagara.

(Naga = 8, Ish = 5, Arka = 12 : therefore 1258).

(Nirmamendra in *Guruvamśakāvyā*). Suraguruyutay = Sugunapithrubha, in *Guruvamśakāvyā*.)

In their essentials, the two accounts tally but it is most unfortunate that nobody else has referred to this inscription, not even Longhurst nor Narasimhachar.

According to the *Guruvamsakāvya* of Lakṣmaṇa Śāstri³⁹⁷ “when there have elapsed the years measured by 1258 (Nagaishu-arka) in the Śaka era, in the year *Dhatri*, in the month of Vaisāka in the bright fortnight, on Sunday, the 7th lunar day with the constellation *Bharaṇi*, Vidyāraṇya laid the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara.” There is an error in date. Week day, *tithi*, and *nakshatra* cannot be reconciled. (For references to Vidyāraṇya-Kālañjāna and other accounts regarding the foundation, see *M. A. R.*, 1932, pp. 110–111.)

In former times, several authorities, including Heras, regarded Mādhava's part in the foundation of the Empire as granted.³⁹⁸ Now, Heras reconsiders the position and says he was mistaken. He records his objections on pp. 14–17. He thinks, if we grant Suryanarayana Rao's inscription as of doubtful value, and observe that Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya was Mārappa's minister in 1347 at Chandragutti,³⁹⁹ how could the founder of an Empire be a subordinate of a viceroy at a far off place? But this argument no doubt presupposes that Mārappā's minister was Vidyāraṇya. Even then, what is there wrong in sending a powerful minister to an important outpost of the Empire, where fresh conquests had to be made?

Heras next considers that Mādhava could not have been an ascetic and guru at Sringeri about 1336, because in 1346 the guru was Vidyāraṇya's predecessor Bhārati Kṛṣṇa. Further, *E. C.* VI, Sg. 1, does not mention his name at all, while at the festival of Empire, a grant to the Mutt would mention the name of the benefactor. From this it does not appear whether he does not regard the 1346 grant as genuine and that the minister

³⁹⁷ *M. A. R.*, 1928, pp. 17, 42.

³⁹⁸ *Q. J. M. S.*, XIX, p. 23; Sewell, I, p. 106; *S. K. I.*, *Some Contributions*, p. 309; Krishnamacharlu, *Ind. Ant.*, XLIV, 219–221; H. Krishna Śāstri, *A. S. I.*, 1907–08, 239; Suryanarayana Rao, *N. F. E.*, pp. 9–10.

³⁹⁹ *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.

Mādhava referred to in the later inscriptions was identical with Vidyāranya. Heras then refers to the visit of Bukka I to Sringeri in 1356, when a grant was made to Vidyātīrtha Śrīpāda⁴⁰⁰ and says Vidyāranya or his activities at Vijayanagara are not mentioned. Later on, Vidyāranya at Kāśī gets the letter of Bukka I requesting him to return to Vijayanagara and also one enclosed by the senior Śrīpāda, which he gladly obeys.⁴⁰¹ Bukka again visits Sringeri with Vidyāranya, to whom he makes a grant which, however, does not refer to the assistance rendered to him.⁴⁰² Mādhava's excellent qualities are extolled in *E. C.* VIII, Sk. 281, but no reference is made to the foundation.⁴⁰³ Besides, Harihara II's copper-plates in Sringeri of 1380 which praise Vidyāranya, as other inscriptions have eulogised his predecessors Vidyātīrtha and Bhārati-tīrtha, do not refer to his part in the foundation.⁴⁰⁴ Much less do his copper-plates of 1384 describe it.⁴⁰⁵ A *Kadila* at Sringeri which refers to Vidyāranya's death at Hampe in 1386 is equally silent.⁴⁰⁶ Even Harihara II's grant of 1386, gifting lands to Vidyāranyapura to commemorate Vidyāranya is silent on this point.⁴⁰⁷ An unfinished inscription of Harihara II eulogises Vidyāranya as the supreme light incarnate but there is no reference in it to his achievements. Chikarāya his son, from Araga, gifts lands to him without referring to his contribution.

The silence of contemporary records above referred to as regards the alleged work of Vidyāranya in the foundation of the Empire, proves, according to Heras, that he could not have had anything to do with it. How absence of reference to Vidyāranya's work at Vijayanagara is conclusive on this

⁴⁰⁰ *M. A. R.*, 1916, pp. 56-57.

⁴⁰¹ *Ind. Ant.*, XLV, p. 3.

⁴⁰² *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 57.

⁴⁰³ Cf. Aufrecht, *Oxford Catalogue*, p. 264.

⁴⁰⁴ *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 56.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁴⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

point is not clear. On the other hand, these records suggest the importance of Vidyāranya in the administration of the Empire and the necessity for seeking the aid of the Sringeri Matha to procure his services for the Empire. According to Heras the documents that refer to it are of a subsequent date like other 'fabricated lithic records', and therefore, Madhava-Vidyāranya's part in the foundation of Vijayanagara and the *abhiseka* ceremony of Harihara are 'wholly groundless fables'.⁴⁰⁸ He relies on Gopinatha Rao's 'independent' statement that 'Vidyāranya who rose to prominence only in the reign of Bukka and Harihara II, cannot be the person who advised Harihara I to construct the city of Vijayanagara.'⁴⁰⁹

Heras, however, concedes the following historical events in the life of Vidyāranya. In 1347 he was Mārappa's minister; in 1356 he was at Benares, whence he was sent for to return to Vijayanagara; in 1368 he was mahāpradhāna of Bukka I; by 1380 he had become Jagat-guru;⁴¹⁰ by 1384, his teachings had benefited Harihara II; in 1385, there were lands granted to him by Chikrāya; and in 1386, he died at Hampe. There was a funeral eulogy of his that year. But, he was not guru in 1346 or 1356.

Nevertheless, Heras apparently considers very strong grounds should be put forward to support his change of front and he, therefore, begins to study the origin of the story of Vidyāranya. He gives a catalogue of inscriptions from 1336 to 1669 on pp. 19-28 and works up a graph to find out the number of inscriptions giving the name of Vidyānagara to the capital. On looking at the graph to face p. 29, it will be seen that 2 inscriptions each of Harihara I, Deva Rāya II, Virūpākṣa, Narasimha, Vīra Narasimha, Tirumala, Rama II and Ranga III, 3 each of Bukka I and Harihara II, 4 each of Vīra Vijaya and Krishna Deva Rāya, 14 of Aeyuta and 23 of Sadāśiva refer to Vidyānagara. The name of the king, location of the

⁴⁰⁸ *Beg.*, p. 17.

⁴⁰⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 11.

⁴¹⁰ Rice, *Mysore*, I, 380.

inscription, and references for verification are given, in chronological order. 196 inscriptions are digested, out of which 31 refer to the ancient name of Vijayanagara and 111 to Vijayanagara while only 54 describe it as Vidyānagara. It may be remarked that they are all inscriptions of the Mysore State, except the following :—(1) 1336. Kunjarkona, *Nellore*, I, p. 114 ; (2) 1379. City of Vijaya, *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, pp. 373 and 376 ; and (3) 1546—47. Vidyānagar, *Nellore*, Butterworth, III, p. 1184. Of these, however, only one inscription refers to Vidyānagara. It may be useful to note a few more inscriptions which refer specifically to Vidyānagara but which may possibly have been overlooked by Heras in these considerations.

1. The following inscriptions refer to Vidyānagara in Butterworth's inscriptions in the Nellore District :

Pp. 1185—86 (a) Podili, 27, 1483—84. Sadāśiva on the diamond throne at Vidyānagara.

Pp. 315—16. (b) Darsi, 22, 1525—26. Vidyānagara.

P. 1183. (c) Podili, 25, 1546—47 (?) Sadāśiva on the diamond throne at Vidyānagara.

P. 1181. (d) Podili, 24, 1551—52. Sadāśiva on the diamond throne at Vidyānagara.

2. V. Rangachari's inscriptions in the Madras Presidency give the following :

(a) Vol. I, pp. 272—73. Bellary District. Somasundaram, 132, 212 of 1913. Stone, 18-6-1556. Sadāśiva ruling at Vidyānagara.

(b) *Ibid.*, p. 273, Yalpi-Kaggallu. 135, 213 of 1913. Sadāśiva ruling at Vidyānagara.

(c) *Ibid.*, p. 292, 251, 468 of 1914, 213 of 1913.

(d) *Ibid.*, p. 316, 104 of 1913, 213 of 1913.

(e) *Ibid.*, p. 316, 105 of 1913, 213 of 1913.

(f) *Ibid.*, p. 1148, S. 1444, Vidyānagara.

(g) *Report of S. I. Epigraphy*, 1921—22, p. 70, Chingleput. 185 of 1922.

(h) *S. I. I.*, IV, p. 40, No. 248—A.R. 199—1889—1545 A.D. p. 59, No. 265—A.R. 35 of 1889—1545 A.D. pp. 59—60, 266—1545.

3. In Mysore, the following are overlooked :

- (a) *E. C.*, XI, Mk. 5, 1556 stone.
- (b) *Ibid.*, VIII, Tl. 152, S. 1373, stone.
- (c) *Ibid.*, VIII, Nr. 1-2-4 1566 Nr. 5, 1552
Stone only Nr. 8 mentioned.
- (d) *Ibid.*, XI, Dg. 31 is referred to. It is on the 9th stone.
- (e) *Ibid.*, VIII, Nr. 46, 1530. Virūpākṣarāya is the ruler of Vidyānagara. Vidyānanda munīśvara is referred to. Stone.
- (f) *E. C.*, XII, Pg. 9, 1559 stone, Sadāśiva at Vidyānagara.
- (g) *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 42, 589.
- (h) *Ibid.*, 1924, p. 59, No. 65, 1757.
- (i) *Ibid.*, 1924, pp. 101-2, No. 111, S 1414.
- (j) *Ibid.*, 1925, p. 76.

I must admit an addition of these grants does not add materially to the argument either way. Heras' conclusions based on these inscriptions are summed up on p. 29. According to him, the name of Vidyānagara was little used and unknown during the period of the first or Sangama dynasty. There is only one inscription of the Saluva dynasty—1486 *E. C.* XII, Tm. 54. In the third dynasty, the name is little used at first, but later on its use increases rapidly. The climax began with Acyuta and 23 of Sadāśiva are found. The name was common under the Aravidu dynasty also.

Before commenting on the later inscriptions, the earlier ones of the Sangama dynasty may be examined. Heras, it must be noted, takes into account only those inscriptions which refer to Vidyānagara, but not those which relate to the tradition that Vidyāranya founded the Empire by assisting Harihara and Bukka. Between 1336 and 1486, the inscriptions examined by him are these :

Harihara I, 1336, *E. C.* X, 241. Not genuine. Rice.

Bukka I, 1354, *E. C.* XII, p. 74. Spurious ; because imperial titles are granted to Bukka I, who sits on a jewelled throne a year before Harihara's death.

1370, *E. C. X*, Gd. 46. Great difficulty as regards date.

S 1216 is given as Tarana which does not fall in Bukka's reign. Rice.

Harihara II, 1392, *E. C. VI*, Kp. 49. Heras has no remarks to make, but quotes Narasimhachar who considers the genealogy in it unsupported by other inscriptions. Numerous grammatical and orthographical errors. Differs from Harihara's published copper-plates in (1) the arrangement of facts, (2) royal titles and genealogy and (3) in the mode of giving the date. If intended date be S 1302 (1379) there was no solar eclipse during the year while Kartika of Sidharti, a year of solar eclipse, to which it may be made to refer, is too early. (A.D. 1319).⁴¹¹

Vira Vijaya, 1413, *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 30. Date doubtful. Gaps numerous.

Deva Rāya, 1441, *M. A. R.*, 1920, p. 36, Sa. 68. Date doubtful.

Narasimha, 1486, *E. C.*, XII, Tm. 54. Date doubtful.

Vira Vijaya, 1417, *E. C.*, VIII, Tl. 148. No remarks to be made.

1420, *E. C.*, VIII, Sk. 288. No remarks to be made.

Virūpākṣa, 1468, *E. C. VIII*, Tl. 143. No remarks to be made.

Thus, there are only four genuine inscriptions, if at all, and even they, it is said, should be rejected.⁴¹² Heras considers Vijayanagara to have been the ancient name which perhaps was corrupted into Vidyānagara,⁴¹³ for even in Bengali literature Vidyānagara appears only later.⁴¹⁴

This corruption is suggested to have been due to definite causes and not to be merely philological. Heras thinks it 'was a deliberate and intended corruption, as the fact of the forgery

⁴¹¹ *M. A. R.*, 1912-13, p. 42.

⁴¹² *Beg.*, p. 31-32.

⁴¹³ *J. A. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, p. 336.

⁴¹⁴ *Indian Historical Quarterly*, III, pp. 261-63.

of several grants connected with the story clearly discloses.⁴¹⁵ On an analysis of the 54 inscriptions referring to Vidyānagara with reference to their geographical situation, 1 in Nellore, 4 each in Tumkur, Kolar and Kadur, 5 in Mysore, 10 in Hassan and 13 in each of the Chitaldroog and Shimoga Districts are arrived at. 8 more inscriptions of the Mysore State, 6 of Bellary and 4 of Nellore may be added to it. However, Heras considers that Shimoga, Chitaldroog and Hassan surround Kadur, the 'focus of the fable'.⁴¹⁶ He remarks that the forgers 'were shrewd and very well-educated men, who succeeded in spreading their story throughout the Empire and in obtaining the assent of their contemporaries and successors, and even of historians centuries later'. And adds that to prevent discovery of the fraud in the place of its origin and with the object of spreading it throughout the vast Vijayanagara dominions, resort was had to fabricating them in their neighbourhood.⁴¹⁷ What follows may best be given in Heras' own words (*Begs.*, pp. 33-35, § 12):—

"And now the common legal phrase 'Cui bono', 'in whose profit' is also to be applied to this case. Who was specially interested in the spreading of such a belief in the Kadur District? In the westernmost corner of the district there is the Sringeri Jagir, and in it the Sringeri Math. For the ascetic dwellers of this Math, the story of the foundation of Vijayanagara by one of their former Jagad-gurus would be very profitable. If such a story were once believed throughout the Empire, they could expect any reward they wanted, any lands that they could be in need of any day from the grateful successors of Harihara I, who had, so they said, been enthroned by the great Vidyāranya. The fact that this guru had been connected with the imperial family, viz., with Mārappa and Bukka I, gave some historical likelihood to the fable. Moreover, the time of confusion subsequent to the overthrow of the first dynasty, seemed the best time for the propagation

⁴¹⁵ *Beg.*, p. 32.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

of such a story. Finally, such religious ascetics and recluses psychologically are persons often inclined to fabricate such fables. Their knowledge of what they call absolute reality, acquired only by their practice of asceticism, inclines them to place all other things, whether existing or not existing, whether true or false, on the same level of relative reality. Hence the fabrication of a story which one might derive some profit from—provided no harm should result from the concoction to a third person—is always attractive to such religious recluses.

“Hence it may be concluded that the ascetics of the Sringeri Math fabricated the story of Vidyāranya as the founder of the city and Empire of Vijayanagara, in the beginning of the XVI century. And it seems most probable that the fabrication of the whole story and the falsification of a great number, if not of all the spurious grants above referred to was perpetrated during the rule of Ramachandra Bhārati who directed the Sringeri Math from 1508 to 1560.⁴¹⁸ In fact, there is an inscription of the year 1513,⁴¹⁹ recording a grant of his of the village of ‘Kudualli belonging to us, in the Melapelu of Vasudhare-sime, which Harihara Mahārāya when he was protecting the kingdom in peace, granted to our Sringeri Math as an offering to Vidyāśankara.’ This Vidyāśankara is the famous Vidyātīrtha, one of the predecessors of Vidyāranya as head of the Sringeri Math. The inscription shows the wish of the Jagad-guru, to show the early relations between the Math and the Emperors of Vijayanagara. This was perhaps the first step in this campaign of falsification,⁴²⁰ the second was to be the story of Vidyāranya as the founder of the capital of the Empire.”

I am constrained to remark that it is unfortunate that Rev. Father Heras, himself a member of the Society of Jesus and belonging to a world-wide religious organisation, known for the piety, scholarship, learning and reputation of its monks,

⁴¹⁸ Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 380.

⁴¹⁹ *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 88.

⁴²⁰ Date of grant doubtful, Rice.

should have thought fit to make a general indictment against the gurus of Sringeri as fabricators and forgers. The relationship subsisting between the gurus of Sringeri and the brothers Harihara and Bukka has already been referred to. Mādhava and his brothers were prominent ministers at the Vijayanagara Court. The members of the Sangama dynasty looked to them for spiritual as well as political support. The five brothers proceeded to Sringeri in 1346, all the way from Vijayanagara, to celebrate the festival of Empire. About 1356, Vidyāraṇya's presence at the Vijayanagara capital was considered so important and urgent that Bukka, afraid whether his own request would be responded to or not, went to Sringeri and desired the senior Śrīpāda to ask Vidyāraṇya to return. In 1368, he was mahāpradhāna to Bukka I and by 1380 he had become Jagad-guru and later on he benefited Harihara II by his teaching. He died at Hampe. Large grants and a funeral eulogy followed. From these facts admitted by Rev. Heras himself, the important place which the Sringeri Maṭha and its gurus occupied in the esteem and affection of the first or Sangama dynasty will be apparent.

Besides, Nuniz about 1535-37 refers to the foundation, advised by the ascetic Vidyāraṇya.⁴²¹ This implies the existence of a tradition as an established fact long before his time. Rāmachandra Bhārati would not have been able to give it the sanctity of a tradition in a few years after 1508, the date of his succession. There would be people living who would not perhaps care very much for Sringeri gurus, and followers of other religious faiths as well, who could deny the tradition as a fabrication. Nuniz himself gives a translation or summary of a chronicle he finds in the place. People in the northern outskirts of the Empire would be least likely to countenance such forgeries. When their importance had been amply recognised by the early emperors, it cannot be said that religious recluses, occupying high positions in the temple of learning would be psychologically the very persons who would

⁴²¹ Sewell, *F. E.*, 292-98.

resort to fabrication of records. Such a statement is against natural presumptions and passes one's ordinary comprehension. Also Heras' remark that the philosophy of Śāṅkara which aimed at finding the ultimate Truth was indifferent to the truth or falsity of mundane actions and therefore countenanced fabrication and forgery by Sringeri gurus shows the colossal ignorance of Rev. Heras' knowledge of Advaita and of the high standard of ethics that Śāṅkara set before the Holy Order which he founded.

I shall now take you through some of the most important inscriptions referred to by Heras.

1. *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 79, 1154 ? A.D. Signature is Śrī Vidyā. It is in rough Nāgarī characters (Aryākṣara). It is a copper grant in the Kudli Math. Doubtless, the date is not correct and it has to be properly verified. But what is the tradition to which it refers ? and is that also false, assuming the grant to be spurious ? ಶ್ರೀ ವಿದ್ಯಾನಮಸ್ತುಂ. See lines 10-11 and 33 which are as follows :—

/-10 ಶ್ರೀ ವಿದ್ಯಾನಗರೇ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಿತಮಾಹಾ

/-11 ಭೂಮಂಡಲಾಧೀಶ್ವರೋ ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣ್ಯಮುನೀಶ್ವರೋ ವಿಜಯತೇ
ಗಂಗಾಧರಪಾತುನಃ

/-33 ಶ್ರೀ ವಿಜಯಶಂಕರಭಾರತೀ ಗುರುಭಟ್ಟಾಚಾರ್ಯ ವಿಶ್ವರೂಪಾರ್ಯ.

Rice says it is very difficult to make any connected sense or translation out of this inscription. But from the paleographic evidence, what was the date of the record ? This śāṣana of Śrī Śāṅkara says—having established a great ruler in Vidyānagara is Vidyāranya munīśvara. It besides refers to Rudra śakti.

2. *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 11, 1652. Nāgarī characters. The opening portion is written first in Sanskrit and then in Kannada. It is a copy of a copper-plate, written in palm-leaf in the possession of Kudli Shambhatta in Vidyāranyapura Agrahāra. It is dated Nandana, Bhādrapada, Monday, lunar eclipse. S 1574. I shall only give a translation. Formerly, the guru of our line, author of the Veda Bhāṣya, Vidyāranya Śrīpāda, out of charity to the world, through the boon obtained by virtue

of his penance from Virūpākṣa dwelling on the banks of the Pampa, having founded Vidyānagara for the protection of cows, gods, and Brahmans performed the coronation anointing of Harihara Mahārāya on the throne.

After which, at the time when the Rājādhirājā Pārameśvara, a Sun to the water lilies the race of hostile kings, Vīra Pratāpa Harihara Mahārāya was protecting the Karnāṭaka kingdom in peace and wisdom he made petition at the feet of Vidyāranya Śrīpāda in regard to the *Dharma piṭha* established by Śāṅkara. A maṭha and an agrahāra were established and made over to the feet of Vidyāranya Bhārati Svāmi.⁴²² In his introduction to Vol. VI of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Rice refers to this record, to Vidyāranya helping Harihara and Bukka in the foundation of Vijayanagara, to his brother Sāyana being minister of Sangama II, to the establishment of the Maṭha at Sringeri and the endowments made to it, and to the foundation of Vidyāranyapura.⁴²³ Let us compare with this record another one of the year *Vijaya*, *Jyēṣṭha* *Su.* 13, 1653-54 A.D. by Śivappa Nāyaka of Keladi to the Sringeri Svāmi of the time. It recounts the grants by Harihara onwards, inspects the *Kaditas*, examines the stone inscriptions and finds out the limits of the Jaghir. The accounts of the shanbhogs are verified and corrected. Likewise, from time to time, the Sringeri grants have been subjected to close scrutiny.

The reasons for rejecting *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 11 are not clearly forthcoming. If the facts narrated in this inscription be true, the veracity of the tradition contained in *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 79 will be confirmed.

3. *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 45, 1538. It is a stone inscription of the time of Acyuta Rāya in *Vīḷambi*, *Kartika* *Su.* 5, on the southern side of Dyavamma's temple in a village and contains 34 lines. Lines 6 to 8 refer to the circumstance that Harihara built

⁴²² See Rice, *E. C.*, VI, pp. 361-73.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, Intro., pp. 23-24.

Vidyānagari and set up in the name of Vidyāranya by the order of the Pampa Virūpākṣa Linga in the Kuntala deśa.⁴²⁴

4. *E. C.*, XI, Cl. 54, 1559. It is another stone near Bira-devaru in a village, recording a gift of lands. It repeats the previous inscription regarding the foundation. Here, Hoṭṭeya Nāyaka makes a grant to Venkatia, son of Lingappa.

It is difficult to say how the Sringeri gurus would have thought of profiting by the grants and why the donors consented to record this false story in the inscriptions. Where was the need to consult them at all? The suggestion will perhaps be that the scribes were bought over. To engrave on a stone, in temple premises, involves great publicity, far greater than in the case of a copper-plate. That the tradition was accepted as true at the time must, therefore, be taken. The only argument would then be, perhaps, that the Sringeri gurus had succeeded in establishing it, during the decades preceding the grants.

5. *E. C.*, VII, Cl. 62, 1565. This copper-plate also repeats the tradition of the previous records.

6. *M. A. R.*, 1925, p. 47, 1652. See pp. 46-47. Copper-plate grant. It is copy on a palm-leaf. Repeats the tradition and restores the grant to Sringeri at the instance of Keladi Śivappa Nāyaka. Certain lands are also given to others.

There is no inherent improbability in these grants. No defects going to the root of their genuineness are traced in most of them. We shall, however, pursue our survey of the inscriptions on this subject. Leaving out of account, inscriptions regarding the name of Vidyānagari given to the capital, to which we have already adverted, we shall concentrate our attention on the records which describe the part played by Vidyāranya or the gurus at Sringeri in the foundation of the Empire. In respect of the 'Vidyānagara' inscriptions we

6, 7 & 8. ಪಂಪಾ ವಿರೂಪಾಕ್ಷ ಲಿಂಗ ನಿರೂಪದಿಂದ ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣ್ಯ ಶ್ರೀಪಾದಂಗಳ
ನಾನುಭವಿಯಿಂದ ಶ್ರೀ ಪರಿಹರರಾಯರು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠೆಯಾಗಿ ವಿದ್ಯಾನಗರೀ
ಸಿಂಹಾಸನಕ್ಕೆ ಕರ್ತರಾದ

shall only observe, most of them bring no gain to Sringeri and that some inscriptions (like *E. C.*, V, Bl. 5 for instance) are to be found in Śrī Vaiṣṇava temples.

1. *E. C.*, IV, Yd. 46, 1376 A.D. Bukka became very great with the assistance of Vidyāranya. 5 sheets ; copper-plate.⁴²⁵

2. *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 30, 1378 A.D. Stone inscription in Viśveśvara temple ; records a grant by Vidyāranya on the occasion of the solar eclipse and is attested by witnesses.

3. *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 33, 1408. Copper-plate. When Vitthanna Odeyar was governing the Araga kingdom, records a grant of 5 villages in Santalige Nad in the presence of the god Vidyāśankara, to the god Vidyāśankara.

4. *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 34, 1386 A.D. Stone inscription. It records that Ballāla Rāya's grants are continuing. The grants of Harihara are renewed by his grandson, the cultivator of Karnāṭaka learning (through) Vidyāśankara of Sringeri to Vidyāśankara Deva Vodeyar.⁴²⁶

5. *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 44, 1451. For maintaining Vidyāśankara.

6. *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1, 1346. Stone. Rev. Heras does not doubt the genuineness of this inscription. He draws interesting and important conclusions from it.⁴²⁷ Rice in *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* regards it as one of the earliest known inscriptions and genuine and undoubted.⁴²⁸ In his introduction to Vol. VI of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, he digests this and several other inscriptions. Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar refers to it and summarises also the Sringeri inscriptions.⁴²⁹ Thus, though Bg. 70-1336 which states how the site of Vijayanagara came into existence, may not be relied

⁴²⁵ Rice, Intro., pp. 23-24.

⁴²⁶ ಶ್ರೀ ಶೃಂಗಗಿರಿ ವಿದ್ಯಾನಗರ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ವಿದ್ಯಾವಿಳಾಸ ಉತ್ತರ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಪೂರ್ವ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಸಮುದ್ರಾಧಿಕಾರಿ.

⁴²⁷ See *Begs.*, pp. 15, 92, 104 and 111.

⁴²⁸ P. 111.

⁴²⁹ *M. A. R.*, 1916, pp. 55-59.

on as the original is not forthcoming, and Mg. 25 owing to the gaps in it cannot be fully made out, Sg. 1-1346 says that after obeisance to Vidyātīrtha, with his form of celestial glory, whose friendship gained is never lost, Harihara having conquered the earth from the eastern to the western ocean, in order to celebrate the festival of his victory, made an excellent grant of nine villages belonging to Kela Nad in Santalige Nad to Bhāratitīrtha Śrīpāda, his disciples and others and 40 Brahmans residing in that Tīrtha of Sringeri for the performance of rites and sacrifice.

7. *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 2, 1602. Stone. Nāgarī characters. To the Sandals of Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda do I prostrate, it says.

8. *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 80. Copper-plate, like Sh. 79 referred to a little while ago.

9. *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281 of 1368.⁴³⁰ Says Mādhava had become incarnate in a holy man for the protection of the world, by order of Bukka accepted the government as far as the western ocean in order to have an oversight of that kingdom without trouble, on the advice of Kriyāśakti. (Does Kriyāśakti refer to Vidyāśankara?) Refers to a grant of a village Vidyēśvarapura, which he purchases under Sk. 282 A.D. 1368.

10. *E. C.*, VIII, Nr. 46, 1530 A.D. Obeisance to Vidyānanda munīśvara. Refers to the assembly of Virūpākṣarāya, Viśālakīrti and others. Stone. It is not clear whether Vidyānanda met with in certain manuscripts since published had any reference to this personage, who was the son of Viśālakīrti. It does not appear to have any relation to Vidyāraṇya.

11. *E. C.*, X, Gd. 77, 1505 A.D. Copper-plate. Narasimha was ruling in Vidyānagara formerly constructed by Vidyāraṇya, seated on a jewel throne. It records the grant of an agrahāra.

12. *E. C.*, X, Bg. 70, 1336. Gives the story to account for the foundation. No original is forthcoming and copy cannot be taken to be authentic, says Rice.⁴³¹ It may be compared with the Mb. 158, Gd. 46, etc., in regard to the

⁴³⁰ Intro., pp. 38-42.

⁴³¹ Intro., XXX to XXXIV.

tradition of the foundation, Vidyāranya's part therein, and the genealogy of Harihara and his brothers.

13. *E. C.*, X, Mb. 11, 1389 A.D. Stone inscription engraved on the wall of a ruined temple. It also refers to a copper śāsana relating to Vidyāśankarapura.

14. *E. C.*, X, Mb. 158, 1344 A.D. Copper-plate. Names the engraver and recounts the story of the foundation as in Bg. 70.

15. *E. C.*, XII, Kg. 43, 1380. Copper-plate. Nāgarī characters. Vidyābhuṣaṇa Dīkṣita gets a gift of land from Harihara II, on the Kalyaṇa Hill, who names it after his guru Vidyāranya.

16. *E. C.*, XII, p. 4, 69 ; Mi. 83, 11 ; Ck. 10, Tp. 1.; p. 75 give the origin of the Vijayanagara kings, most of them in the florid composition of Sabhāpathi.

We have completed our survey of the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* and shall now refer to the archæological reports since published.

1. *M. A. R.*, 1907-08, p. 14, S. 54. It refers to an incomplete copper grant received from the inam office, where the third verse describes Harihara son of Bukka, who was the worshipper of the lotus feet of Vidyātīrtheśa, in S 1308 granting a copper śāsana to three scholars, in the presence of Vidyāranya Śrīpāda. Reference is also made to a former grant of Chikrāya in Araga in 1381 A.D.

2. *M. A. R.*, 1915, pp. 57-58. A copper-plate kept in the Krishnarajapet Taluk Treasury is similar to *E. C.*, IV, Yd. 46, 1377, and refers to the origin of the story as before. Sāyana and his son Singana are the first donees.

3. *M. A. R.*, 1916. Rao Bahadur Narasimhachar refers to 12 copper plates in the Maṭha, 12 sanads, and 500 palm-leaf manuscripts.⁴³² Of these, three belong to Harihara II dated 1384, 1386, 1397 and two to Devarāya dated 1432. A copy of a copper-plate is also found in the *Kadita* preserved in the Maṭha. The earliest *Kadita* is dated 1380. Interesting details of former grants which are confirmed by Harihara II

⁴³² P. 17.

in the presence of Vidyāraṇya are given. Of these, (a) Harihara's visit with his brothers to Sringeri in 1346 and references to Sg. 1, (b) Bukka's arrival in Sringeri to pay homage to Vidyātīrtha and references to the stone inscription of 1356, (c) Bukka's writing a letter to Vidyāraṇya requesting his return to Vijayanagara, enclosing the senior Śrīpāda's letter to him; on his return taking him to Sringeri and granting lands, and (d) Chikrāya's grants, and others are detailed and confirmed by a copper śāsana.

There are, besides, three sets of copper-plates of Harihara II.⁴³³ (a) 1384 A.D. Genealogy of Harihara is given and of his conquests and then it is said by the grace of Vidyāraṇya Muni he acquired the empire of knowledge unattainable by other kings. (b) 1386. Vidyātīrtha, Vidyāraṇya and Bhāratitīrtha are praised. Vidyāraṇya, according to the argument of the learned, is the supreme light incarnate.⁴³⁴ (c) 1397.⁴³⁵ These clearly show the position occupied by Vidyāraṇya in the Empire of Vijayanagara.

4. *M. A. R.*, 1928, pp. 15-24. Harihara and Bukka at Hampe saw Vidyāraṇya and, receiving his blessings, established their sovereignty over the Deccan. Vidyāraṇya was responsible for grant of lands to Sringeri and Mārappa carried the news.

5. *M. A. R.*, 1929, No. 90, pp. 159-72. C.P. The paleography and language free from suspicion. Hedase grant 11-2-1347. Bollarasa (of *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 6) prepares under Mādhava's orders. Kriyāśakti teacher of Mādhavamantri referred to.

6. *M. A. R.*, 1931. The photo of the Vidyāśankara image (Plate VII), 1½ feet high, in Yoga Mudra, would suggest that the image at Hampe referred to (*Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 233) may not be that of Vidyāśankara (*Ibid.*, p. 265). Dr. Krishna suggests (p. 14) Vidyāraṇya must have been a Kārṇāṭaka and Vidyāśankara perhaps a Coli.

⁴³³ *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 58.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, see pp. 58-60.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, see pp. 58-60.

7. *M. A. R.*, 1932. See Plate IV (2). A man who is being devoured by a crocodile praying to a linga identifiable, possibly, with Śankara (p. 11) in the light of known Śankara legends.

P. 77. Dr. Krishna says that the great mediæval Hindu Empire of Karnātaka was due to Hindu effort to defend their homes from further Muslim inroads. It was called Karnātaka from the spoken language of the people. The foundation, he says, is traditionally but incorrectly ascribed to Vidyāranya.

Vidyāranyakālaññāna : pp. 100–26. (See *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 267–68.) The details in this work are said closely to resemble the details given in *Rājakālanirṇaya* and *Sivatattvaratnākara* as well as the *Guruvamśakāvya*. The conclusions to be arrived at are : (i) Vidyāranya is different from Mādhava, brother of Sāyana, (ii) Harihara and Bukka were guards in the treasury of Pratāpa Rudra of Wārangal and were serving under Kumāra Rāmanātha of Kampili or Kummaṭadurga, (iii) Harihara and his brothers defeated the Hoysalas, (iv) Kriyāśakti was a disciple of Vidyāranya and (v) Vijayanagara was founded in 1336 A.D.

In reviewing the *M. A. R.* for 1932 I stated that I expected to refer to these in detail in my articles on the 'Foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire'. As these matters have been discussed in the course of these lectures, it will be sufficient to set out the salient details mentioned in *Vidyāranyakālaññāna* itself. Dr. Krishna does not agree with Mr. Gopinatha Rao's disparaging view of *Rājakālanirṇaya* (p. 102). There is considerable resemblance between *Vidyāranyakālaññāna* and the narrative by Nuniz and according to Dr. Krishna, it is a genuine and standard native traditional account. According to *Vidyāranyakṛiti*, when Vidyāranya, disciple of Vidyā-tīrtha, was in a cave on the Mātunga Hill, with the tantras he rebuilt the city of Vijaya. Later, when Sāyana and Māyana went to him and begged for offspring, he told them to publish works after Sāyana and Mādhava. Apart from the difference between Māyana and Mādhava, let us pursue the story. As we have observed in other accounts, we find Vidyāranya was

the disciple of Vidyāśankara and a follower of Śankara. He was the author of numerous Śastraic works attributed to Sāyana and Mādhava. He was given to much travelling and met Vyāsa at Benares. He brought the Brahmarākṣasi Sringin. He was learned in the mystic lore. Inspired by the God Virūpākṣa, he revived Vijayanagara. At Hampe, he met Harihara and Bukka after their defeat by Ballāla and blessed them with success. Kriyāśakti was a disciple of Vidyāraṇya. Mādhava and Sāyana are two persons in this work but ministers in *Guruvamśakāvya*. On p. 106, Dr. Krishna makes the significant remark that Sāyana and Mādhava only acknowledge Vidyātirtha and not Vidyāraṇya as their guru. This may be because Mādhava was Vidyāraṇya and Sāyana his brother. Bhāratikṛṣṇa may be a junior or disciple of Vidyāraṇya in the same sense as the two present svāmis of Sringeri were the juniors of Vedamurthi Srikanta Sastrigal prior to their sanyasa. But that Bharatikṛṣṇa was a younger brother of Vidyāraṇya before he became a Sanyasi raises many questions. It will be seen from the sequel that if Vidyāraṇya be Mādhava, Bhōganātha could not be Bharatikṛṣṇa: on the other hypothesis, who are Vidyāraṇya and Bharatikṛṣṇa have not been explained. The younger man taking sanyasa earlier becomes spiritually superior as a svāmi and that is a natural explanation. Apparently, Vidyāraṇya died about 1386 and afterwards his disciple granted an agrahara in the name of his teacher and that was Vidyāśankara. It looks possible that Kriyāśakti was also a disciple of Vidyāśankara and Vidyāraṇya and should that be so the image at Hampe will have explained a great deal in the mystery surrounding the identification of Vidyāraṇya.

The story of the foundation and the date accord with other narratives.

8. *M. A. R.*, 1933. Inscriptions of the Sringeri Jaghir referred to in *M. A. R.*, 1916 (p. 117, No. 2). Stone. Refers to Bukka's visit to Sringeri in 1356 and registers a gift of the value of the rental of 300 varahas. Śrī Vidyātirtha is said to be alive and the gift is to the Śrī Maṭha.

No. 23 shows that Vidyāraṇya was the guru of Harihara II who acquired the empire of knowledge from him.

No. 24. Vidyāraṇyapura grant. (See *M. A. R.*, 1916.) Vidyāraṇya is the sun by whose rays the lotus Bhāratitīrtha expands. Bukka I respected all the three gurus. Dr. Krishna on the basis of this grant regards Vidyāraṇya to have died at Sringeri, the tradition about his death at Hampe being a later invention. The explanation is unsatisfactory and no reasons are given. (See p. 146.)

No. 33. 1381 A.D. refers to grants to the Maṭha and to an invitation by Bukka to Vidyāraṇya at Benares with a *nirūpa* from Hiriya-Śrīpādangal.

9. *M. A. R.*, 1934: No. 25 registers gift of lands under orders of Harihara II to Nārāyaṇa Vājaṇṇi and two others in the presence of Śrī Vidyāraṇya Śrīpāda in connection with commentaries on the four Vedas. Thus Vidyāraṇya could not be Kriyāśakti. That Bukka was influenced by the gurus of Sringeri and Mādhava and Sāyana is attested by several inscriptions (*E. C.*, IV, Yd. 46; *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256, etc.). *M. A. R.*, 1908, p. 14 refers to a similar grant. Harihara II is also the establisher of the path of the Vedas and in *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256, those three scholars are mentioned along with Sāyana.

No. 37. A stone inscription of Vidyāraṇya himself. 29-1-1386.

On pp. 141 2 of *M. A. R.*, 1934, will be found all the inscriptions of Vidyāraṇya published or noticed so far.

(a) Ulaybettu stone inscription 14-6-1375. *M. E. R.*, 1929, p. 45.

(b) Kudupu stone inscription 25-10-1375. *M. E. R.*, 1929, p. 44.

(c) *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 30, 11-6-1378. Stone. Bhaṇḍigaḍe.

(d) *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 19, 2-11-1377. Stone. Nāgalāpur.

(e) Kapllpur C.P. 1336. Butt: *N.I.*, Vol. I, p. 109.

(f) Bestarahalli C.P. 1336. *E. C.*, X, Bp. 70.

(g) Mudayanur C.P. 1344. *E. C.*, X, Mb. 158.

(h) Hosur C.P. 1370. *E. C.*, X, Gd. 46.

[(e) to (h) generally regarded as spurious. But concerning

the traditions recorded by them, Krishna Sāstri finds support from other genuine records and from literary and other evidence.]

- (i) Sringeri Kadita : Harihara II. 1380. *M. A. R.*, 1933, p. 211.
- (j) Sringeri C.P. Harihara II. 1384. *M. A. R.*, 1933, p. 132.
- (k) Hosahalli C.P. Harihara II. 1384. *J. B. H. S.* (Bombay), Vol. I. No. 2, p. 1.
- (l) Inam Office C.P. Harihara II. 1386. *M. A. R.*, 1908, p. 14.
- (m) C.P. Sringeri Harihara II. 1386. *M. A. R.*, 1933, p. 138.
- (n) Ramachandrapura Matt C.P. Devaraya 12-2-1450. *E. C.*, VIII, Nr. 67.

Having dealt with the traditional and inscriptional accounts, let us now proceed to literary references connecting the origin of the Empire with Vidyāraṇya.

According to Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, a body of learned men with Mādhavacārya and Sāyana, at the instance of Bukka I, set to work upon committing to writing various works on Vedic religion.⁴³⁶

In the *Annals of Hande Anantapuram*, Bukka is said to be ruling from the city of Vidyānagara while a tank Bukka samudram is formed in the Nandyal Province south of Vidyānagara.⁴³⁷ In *Pārijātāpaharaṇamu* by Nandi Timmanna, Vidyāpura is mentioned.⁴³⁸ Rājanātha Kavi's *Acyutābhya-dayam* refers to Vidyāpura.⁴³⁹ Vidyāpuri and Vidyānagari are found in *Varadāmbikaparināyam* of Tirumalāmba,⁴⁴⁰ and *Svara-nada-kalana-nidhi*.⁴⁴¹ *Śivatattvaratnākara* by Keladi Basavabhūpāla, completed about 1709 A.D. gives the account of the origin of Vidyānagara by the sage Vidyāraṇya and the succession of its sovereigns from the time of Vidyāraṇya

⁴³⁶ *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 2-4.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 46, No. 56, p. 178 ; pp. 321-22, No. 73.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 106, No. 35.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108, No. 36.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-72, No. 54.

⁴⁴¹ P. 190, No. 58.

as well as the length of each reign.⁴⁴² *Chikka Devaraya Vamsāvali* of Tirumalārya⁴⁴³ refers to Vidyānagara.

I have also referred previously to *Rājakalanirnaya* which agrees with Nuniz's account of the tradition. There is a hint by Prof. Venkateswara that Vidyātirtha may have handed over treasures and royal appurtenances to Harihara to furnish the capital.⁴⁴⁴ 'Through the influence of Vidyāranya, the kingdom of Anaikhondi was established.'⁴⁴⁵ *Koyilolugu* is a record of gifts made and repairs and additions effected to the temple of Śrī Ranganātha from the earliest times and is in Tamil prose. We there find that by the influence of Vidyāranya, Vijayanagara grew in importance.⁴⁴⁶ In an article on the *Augustan Age of Telugu Literature*, G. R. Subramiah Pantulu says that traditions are tolerably well agreed (Wilson, *Cat. of Mac. Coll.*, 83 referred to) as to the individuals responsible for the foundation and mentions Vidyāranya.⁴⁴⁷ Kittel writes an article on old Kanarese literature in the columns of the *Indian Antiquary* for 1875. There he identifies Pampāpura with Vidyānagara.⁴⁴⁸ Likewise, Fleet refers to a stone inscription of A.D. 1552-53 where occurs Vidyānagara, though he considers it a corruption of the purer word.⁴⁴⁹ In writing on the religion of the Vijayanagara house, C. R. Krishnamacharlu refers to traditional beliefs attributing the creation of the Empire and construction of the capital to Vidyāranya, with approval.⁴⁵⁰ Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sāstri refers to *E. C.* VI, Sg. 1 relating to the visit of Harihara I and his brothers in 1346 to Sringeri and remarks :

⁴⁴² Pp. 194-95, No. 59.

⁴⁴³ Pp. 302-03, No. 92.

⁴⁴⁴ *New Lights*, p. 10.

⁴⁴⁵ Heras, *Aravida Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, p. 103, note 2.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, XL, pp. 131-44 at p. 139, by K. V. Subrahmanya

Iyer.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, XXVII, p. 247.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 18-19. See No. 7-8-9.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, XLIV, pp. 219-21.

"This grant seems to bear out the traditional connection claimed in later records for the teachers of the religious institutions at that place with the rise of the new Empire and the foundation of the town of Vijayanagara. The joint donation indicates the undivided interest of the teachers in the building up of the new kingdom." ⁴⁵¹

With reference to *E. C.*, X, Bg. 70 and Butterworth, *Nellore*, I, p. 109 ff, *Ind. Ant.*, XXVIII, pp. 89-91, Krishna Sāstri's remarks are equally noteworthy. "Some suspicious copper-plate records describe Harihara I, a chief of Kunjarakona and attribute the foundation to the help and advice of Vidyāraṇya, then performing a penance at Hampe and give Ś. 1258 for his coronation. It is not improbable that in this year Harihara I actually made an attempt to declare his independence and in order to secure that object befriended a teacher of the Sringeri Maṭha. The date of the two copper-plates might thus be granted to be genuine—being based upon tradition—though the records on them may not be beyond suspicion." ⁴⁵²

Of the stone records referring to Vidyānagara, and they are at least 46, we may say that stone records of India mostly stand in very conspicuous places, whose preparation and erection entail a great amount of publicity and the connivance of many more persons, including at least village officials, than those interested in the successful accomplishment of a fraud. ⁴⁵³ We must also remember that grants were made by the kings on some auspicious occasions and probably recorded on palm-leaves at the time, to be permanently engraved later on stone or copper-plates, by the scribes. Discrepancies in dates may be due to this or scribe's devils.

It will thus be seen that forgeries of inscriptions by the Sringeri authorities under Rāmacandra Bhārati Svāmi or at any other time have not been established. The story

⁴⁵¹ *A. S. I. Report*, 1907-08, p. 237.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 239, F. N.

⁴⁵³ *Ind. Ant.*, XXX, p. 212.

of Heras cannot be corroborated in so far as the Jagad-gurus are concerned, at all events.

A general study of the inscriptions and the purpose of the several records will clearly show that the Sringeri gurus or one of them Rāmacandra Bhārati had nothing to do with the forgeries alleged. The Sringeri Mutt did not profit by it. From Harihara and his brothers, in 1346 the gurus of Sringeri got nine villages belonging to Kelanad in Santalige Nad.⁴⁵⁴ In 1355, Bukka I came to Sringeri to visit Vidyātirtha, possibly after the death of Harihara I, and on that occasion made a grant. The value of a part of the first grant was 502½ gadyanas ; and Bukka's grants amounted in 1355 to 425½ gadyanas ; a part of one and two together total 928 gadyanas. Out of this, on the occasion of the consecration of the Vidyāsankara temple, *ṛttis* were created and given away of the value of 600 gadyanas. The remaining was applied for maintenance and worship of various kinds. Later, when Śrī Vidyāraṇya returned on receiving the *nirūpa* of the senior Śrīpāda and the request of Bukka. In his presence at Vijayanagara, Bukka directed Mādarasa to give the grant in person which he had decided upon. The value of it was 222½ gadyanas. Again, when Chikrāya was installed at Araga, a grant was made of the value of 424-9 including a land grant of 202½ and cash. The distribution of 600 gadyanas value of land in 120 *ṛttis* in detail are also to be found in Harihara II's copper-plate in addition to the above information.⁴⁵⁵ In the Vidyāraṇya-pura copper-plate grant of 1387,⁴⁵⁶ to the mahājanas, details of the donees are given for the distribution of 500 gadyanas worth of land. It was made at Vijayanagara on the occasion of the departure from this world of Vidyāraṇya.⁴⁵⁷ In 1389 there was a further grant under a stone inscription by Harihara II, made in the presence of the god Vidyāsankara at

⁴⁵⁴ E. C., VI, Sg. 1.

⁴⁵⁵ C.P. 1380-81, Ś. 1303, Roudri.

⁴⁵⁶ Ś. 1309.

⁴⁵⁷ Ś. 1311-1389 A.D.

Sringeri. This was made to the mahājanas with the consent of the Śrīpāda and its value was 225 gadyanas. All these grants together, including what is contained in *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1, will be roughly 3,000 gadyanas. These parts were called *mūru sāvira sime*. The grants of Tippu Sultan of Mysore also refer to it. Devarāya's grants of Kanguvalli in 1430 and of Manjungani in 1432 are the next ones of importance. That of 1430 gives the details of the distribution of lands and there is no tradition in it to regard it as spurious, though it is a copy of a grant. Harihara's copper-plate of 1380-81 confirms the previous records and the prefatory verse refers to Vidyātīrtha, Vidyāraṇya and Bhāratitīrtha in the order in which I have mentioned. The Vidyāraṇya grant naturally has a great eulogy of the guru. In 1515 A.D. Krishnarāya requests the guru's presence at Hampe and on that occasion grants Huyyaru in Barakuru Rājya and in the same year gives a *nirūpa* to one Triyambaka by which the latter is told that the gurus of Sringeri were in possession and enjoyment of several villages from time immemorial and is warned not to meddle with them. By a grant of 1545 A.D. Sadāśiva at Vidyānagara gives Bastihalli village.⁴⁵⁸ The Keladi family of the Lingayat community renew and confirm the grants and add to the existing ones. A letter of 1653-54⁴⁵⁹ refers to the old grants of Harihara and his successors at Sringeri. Two letters of 1661-62 and 1663-64 refer to Śrīmaṭha. In the times of the Santebennur Palyagars, a letter of 1785-86 refers to Vidyānagara. Then, coming on to the times of the Mysore Rājas, a letter of 1753-54 refers to Śrīmaṭha.⁴⁶⁰ References to Vidyānagara are to be found in a number of them.⁴⁶¹ Haidar Ali Khan's

⁴⁵⁸ Writer Honnappa Nayaka.

⁴⁵⁹ Vijaya.

⁴⁶⁰ See also *Nirūpas* of 1760-61, 1762-63, 1779-80 (Haidar), 1809-10.

⁴⁶¹ (1) Letter 1759-60; (2) 1760-61 C. P.; (3) 1770-76 letter not dated; (4) 1806-07; (5) 1810-11; (6) 1811-12 (4); (7) 1813-14; (8) 1814-15; (9) 1828-29 (3); (10) 1829-30; (11) 1830-31; (12) 1833-34; (13) 1834-35; (14) 1851-52; (15) 1852-53; (16) 1853-54; (17) 1855; (18) 1855-56; (19) 1856-57; (20) 1858-59; (21) 1859-60; (22) 1860-61 (2); (23) 1861-62 (2); (24) 1862-63; (25) 1865-66 (2); (26) 1867-68.

letters also refer to it.⁴⁶² In 1792-93, Tippu Sultan requests the guru of the Mutt to pay a visit to him and in another letter describes him as Jagad-guru who is always praying for peace, for safety for all. Glad that the Guru was coming to the capital, he writes to say that the palace is his and he is welcome.⁴⁶³ In 1795-96, Tippu is proud of three things: the blessings of god *Īśvara*, of the gurus like the Sringeri *Śvami* and ready weapons of war. Success is attended by the blessings of the great. Letters from 1806-07 to 1867-68 invariably refer to Vidyānagari as *Adirājadhāni* and it is further interesting to observe that the gurus of Sringeri are *Karṇāṭaka Simhasana pratishṭāpanācāryas*, and also *Śrīmat Vidyāśankarapāda-padmārādhakas* in most of the later grants and letters which are used in the place of the praise of Vidyāśankara in the inscriptions. Hence "The influence exercised by mutts as centres of learning on the religious and other literature of the country cannot be denied. The varied and well-known contributions made thereto by the famous Vidyāranya *Śvami* of the Sringeri *Śārādā Mutt*, or under his auspices, are among the most conspicuous examples of this kind. There is scarcely a branch of learning considered by Hindus as important, to which Vidyāranya or the scholars whom he gathered round him, did not make valuable contributions, and it is to his commentaries that the modern world owes its knowledge of the traditional meaning of the oldest of the sacred books—the *Ṛg-Veda*. Nor has the influence of the Mutts (at other places) on the Dravidian literature been inconsiderable....(The *Śvāmis*) as a whole were men of learning and piety, who adequately ministered to the spiritual wants of the community, and even now the heads of some of those Mutts enjoy the esteem of the community and continue to serve, more or less, the purpose intended." ⁴⁶⁴ The gurus of Sringeri continue to enjoy in an ever-increasing degree the regard and esteem,

⁴⁶² 1777-78.

⁴⁶³ 1793-94.

⁴⁶⁴ 1904, *I. L. R.*, 27 *Madras* 435 at pp. 438-39 per Sir S. Subrahmanya Iyer, C. J.

as we have shown, of all classes of people and it could not be said that any one of them was a party to a forged grant.

V

Vidyaranya's Part in the Foundation of the Empire

From the preceding considerations, it follows :—

- (1) that Sringeri was in the territories of the Hoysala Ballālas,
- (2) that Vidyātīrtha, Bhāratitīrtha and Vidyāraṇya were all influential in their day in the affairs of the maṭha,
- (3) that, from all accounts, Ballāla III with the help of his kinsmen and perhaps of the Kākatiya Kṛṣṇa Nāyak as well as with the assistance of others tried his best to establish the Hindu religion and *dharma* freed from the devastating outrages of the Muhammadans,
- (4) that leaders of other religious schools of thought co-operated in this endeavour, and
- (5) that Harihara and Bukka and their other brothers and relations were all devoted to Sringeri.

Huge land grants and money endowments were made from the time of the earliest Vijayanagara kings to the Sringeri Maṭha, which developed into a state within a state. Assuming that it was felt that Ballāla was getting very old and weak, that his son was a minor, necessitating a regency under Ballappa, himself a relation of Harihara, it is not unlikely that Ballāla III had realised the turn of events and, in the abundance of his patriotic motives, had marked out Harihara and Bukka as coming men. This will explain their appointment as mahā-maṇḍalēśvaras and their great influence in the Kuntala country. It is further probable that heads of religious institutions also advised this course.

The great solicitude of the rulers of Vijayanagara and their anxiety to secure Vidyāraṇya's presence at the capital coupled with their influencing the senior Śrīpāda to send a *nirūpa* to Benares enjoining him to return confirm the great

and important part played by Vidyāraṇya in the foundation of the Empire.

When Vidyāraṇya, in the course of his search for his younger brother, at last arrived in Sringeri where the latter had been initiated as an ascetic by the name of Bhāratitīrtha, and succeeded in being himself also initiated on account of his learning, he is said to have shown his *Veda Bhāṣya* and other works to Vidyāśankara who thereupon, commending it, advised him to obtain the opinions of distinguished pandits from all parts of India.⁴⁶⁵

The actual date, if the event be true, when Vidyāraṇya first came to Sringeri in search of his brother from Wārangal, cannot be found out. But it will have to be fixed prior to the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire. The accepted date for the consecration of Bhāratitīrtha is 1328 and Mādhava may have followed his brother about this period. After his own initiation, Vidyāraṇya left Sringeri with the *Veda-Bhāṣya* for Benares. On his way, he appears to have met a Brahmarākṣasi near the Vindhya range and reported the matter to Vyāsa at Benares. Under his instructions, he returned to Hampe to obtain release from the Brahmarākṣasi. This is parallel to the story recorded by Buchanan for the conversion of Bittideva into the Vaiṣṇava religion. It may possibly be that the Hindu pandits at Benares felt alike the position of Hinduism as against the all-embracing creed of Islam and confabulated on the best means of reviving the religion. Curiously enough, there is a figure of Malayāla Brahmarākṣasa alleged to have been brought by Vidyāraṇya to Sringeri, undertaking to feed the Brahmarākṣasa to its heart's content. The deity is to be propitiated before anything is done at Sringeri. North of the Janārdana temple in that place is a shrine of Śakti Gaṇapati and Vāgīśvarī, considered the favourite deities of Vidyāraṇya.⁴⁶⁶

Any religion requires peace in the country, toleration from other religionists, and patronage by the king to thrive.

⁴⁶⁵ *M. A. R.*, 1928, pp. 16, 39.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 1916, pp. 16, 20.

Vijayanagara was getting fortified and was developing into a great bulwark against Muhammadan aggression in the South. Ballāla could not have been quite unknown to Mādhavacārya, for near his ancient capital was the Sringeri Mutt where his brother was initiated. One may perhaps even go to the length of suggesting that the Wārangal ruler may have sent Mādhava's younger brother to Sringeri, finding his own position unsafe, in order to arrange for the protection of the Hindu religion. The brothers were hereditary ministers to the Vijayanagara kings: that they were not very poor Brahmans as stated in the *Guruvamśakāvya* may be accepted.

A person is not consecrated as a *yati* for the asking; more particularly for the guru *pīṭha* at Sringeri, he will be tried and put on probation a long time; and his credentials will be examined and very closely scrutinised. Hence, it follows that the date of the arrival at Sringeri may have been far earlier than the date of consecration.

The question is asked: if Mādhava was initiated at Sringeri how did he go to Benares or undertake political work at the Vijayanagara Court? If Sāyana was Bhārati Kṛṣṇa, was consecrated in 1328 and was pontiff at Sringeri in 1346,⁴⁶⁷ how do you reconcile these with the inscriptions according to which (1) he was the minister of Bukka I, Kampana, Sangama II and Harihara II, (2) he had three sons, (3) he was a regent during Sangama's ministry, (4) he was his teacher and (5) was warrior and a great and successful general? If Bhoganātha be said to be the pontiff referred to, you find him composing the Bithragunta grant and described as boon companion and minister, *marma saciva* of Sangama II in 1356.⁴⁶⁸ Therefore, the statement in a *Kadita* of 1380 in Sringeri recording the initiation of Bhoganātha as Bhāratitīrtha cannot be accepted.⁴⁶⁹ As regards Mādhavacārya himself, besides this account taken from *Guruvamśakāvya*, there are numerous

⁴⁶⁷ *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 23. *Narma Saciva* may also mean private secretary, not merely boon companion.

⁴⁶⁹ *M. A. R.*, 1916, pp. 57, 95.

inscriptions which refer to him, subsequent to the accepted date of his consecration in 1331. If the explanation be that consecration does not imply headship of the pontifical office but only the date of initiation, then whoever was Bhārati Kṛṣṇa had only five years 1328–33 during which he was without office, for the *samādhi* or liberation of Vidyāśankara or Vidyātīrtha took place in 1333 A.D.⁴⁷⁰

Ārādhana for prominent gurus takes place in Sringeri, except for Śrī Vidyāraṇya. The reason assigned is that though ordained at Sringeri as a guru of that *piṭha*, he spent most of his time elsewhere. In the *Puṇyaśloka Manjari* of the Kāma-koṭi Piṭha of Kāncī, it is stated that Śrī Vidyātīrtha established nine Maṭhas for the propagation of the Advaita faith of which one was at Hampe and that Vidyāraṇya was nominated as head of that Mutt which still exercises spiritual jurisdiction over Bellary, Kurnool, Kadapa and parts of Hyderabad. This implies the importance of Vidyātīrtha at the Vijayanagara Court and the necessity for having the foremost exponent of Advaitism in his day at the capital. Perhaps, it also accounts for the part played by Vidyāraṇya in the earliest days of the Vijayanagara Empire. It will also be noticed that behind the Virūpākṣa temple in the Hampe ruins is a shrine containing a seated figure of Vidyāraṇya in the teaching pose, 1½ feet high, on a spot said to be the site of his *samādhi*.⁴⁷¹

Guruvamśakāvyā records a story of Vidyāraṇya in which Dr. Krishna finds nothing incredible. Mādhava was a little dull and, following the advice of a woman who prevented him from committing suicide for the sake of his dullness, he continued to worship the goddess of learning and became a very learned man.⁴⁷² If between 1328 and 1331,

	Consecration	Liberation
Vidyāśankara or Vidyātīrtha	1228	1333
Bharati Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha	1328	1380
Vidyāraṇya	1331	1386

⁴⁷¹ *M. A. R.*, 1920.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, 1928, p. 16.

he was at Sringeri with the *Veda-Bhāṣya* and other works which brought forth admiration for his learning from Vidyātīrtha, he must have been cured of any dullness he may have had very many years previously. His brother himself before arriving at Sringeri had visited the sacred places of India. There is no sequence in the account as given to infer its correctness. Sangama seems to have been a king of Hampe at this time. Two of his sons Harihara and Bukka were under Pratāpa Rudra. They were captured but they effected their escape and were recaptured. The Sultan pleased with their valour released and sent them to rule over the Deccan. After crossing the river Kṛṣṇa, they had to encounter Ballāla in battle and, being defeated, they fled for safety. Eventually, they succeeded in reaching Hampe. After seeing Vidyāraṇya there and receiving his blessings, they led their army against Ballāla and, having conquered him in battle, established their sovereignty over the Deccan.⁴⁷³ Meanwhile, Mādhava and Sāyana, ministers of Harihara and Bukka, visited Vidyāraṇya⁴⁷⁴ and prayed for progeny. The guru said they would have no children but if they published his works in their name, the curse of sonlessness would go. That is how Vidyāraṇya's works are known as Mādhaviya and Sāyaṇiya. Later, on the advice of Vidyāraṇya, Harihara and Bukka strengthened their army, defeated Ballāla and built Vijayanagara,⁴⁷⁵ in 1336. When Harihara was crowned, numerous grants were made. The treasury was replenished by a shower of gold. After securing the power of speech to Harihara's son, Vidyāraṇya went to Kāśī a second time, where he established two Maṭhas. On his suggestion, rich land grants were made to Sringeri and communicated through Mārappa. Vidyāraṇya also cured Bukka of a terrible disease, and, in gratitude, he constructed the Vidyāśankara temple. Bhārati Kṛṣṇa died in the meantime succeeded by Vidyāraṇya. A number of honours and

⁴⁷³ *M. A. R.*, 1928, p. 16.

⁴⁷⁴ It may be a mistake for Vidyātīrtha.

⁴⁷⁵ *M. A. R.*, pp. 16-17.

titles was secured for the Maṭha. Then, Harihara II accompanied Vidyāranya to Sringeri. A temple to Bhārati Kṛṣṇa was built and two agrahāras given to learned Brahmins with lands for a living.⁴⁷⁶

With reference to the wars of Harihara and Ballāla, it is unnecessary to add anything to the previous discussions on this subject. Why should the gurus of Sringeri assume a hostile attitude towards the ruler of the Empire and set up far-off Harihara of Anegondi is not clear. If Mādhava brothers belonged to Wārangal and were interested in Harihara, an officer of Pratāpa Rudra, what took them to Sringeri? Their work clearly suggests their anxiety to conserve Hinduism.

The reference to Mādhava and Sāyana approaching Vidyāranya for progeny implies Mādhava being different from Vidyāranya unless the preceptor be a mistake for Vidyā-tīrtha. The greatness of Vidyāranya is however recognised. The Emperor follows him to Sringeri when the guru returns with honours and titles. From the time of Vidyāranya, the pontiff of Sringeri became a Rājahamsa and a Rājaguru, consistent with the royal position which Sringeri occupied, as a state within a state.⁴⁷⁷ Dr. Krishna's remarks are noteworthy. According to him, the life of the gurus of the Sringeri Maṭha had taken quite a different turn with Bhārati Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha under the influence of Vidyāranya. From Sureśvarācārya onwards down to Vidyāśankara, the chief avocation of the gurus was learning and penance. They had no Jagirs, or land endowments to manage, no rituals to observe except self-realisation and no tours to make with elephants, camels, palanquins, flags and other paraphernalia of titles and honours. With the arrival of Vidyāranya at Sringeri everything changed. With the money and material secured by Vidyāranya for the Maṭha, Bhārati Kṛṣṇa Tīrtha caused the temples of Śaradā and Vidyāśankara to be constructed. Besides daily worship, special worship during Navarātri, Śivarātri and other religious festivals began. Endowments were obtained for

⁴⁷⁶ *M. A. R.*, p. 17.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

these and for feeding. Honours and titles secured created an impression upon the people. Thus, instead of remaining a calm centre of study, contemplation and penance as formerly, the Maṭha became a state with officers to collect revenue and manage its affairs.

The general impression about the condition of the country at this period and the contributions made by the Hindu community to conserve their religion is very well reflected in the literature of the country.

Mādhava and Kriyāśakti

Early Western universities developed from the schools attached to monasteries and cathedrals and owing to their learning attracted students from foreign parts. Ancient Indian universities like Nālanda and Taxila, and the later ones like Navadvīp and Kāncī were likewise great centres of learning. Ṛṣyāśramas and Gurukulas in India have existed from hoary antiquity. Anxiety for learning and the spread of knowledge have taken hold of the human mind from time immemorial. In the earliest days of Indian education, no charter from a king or a religious head was necessary. Every Brahmin was a priest and a teacher to the laymen. Even now, you will find innumerable villages sending for a school master from abroad to train their young.

Besides, kings are always great patrons of learning and have from ages past encouraged education and learning by large grants. Great religious leaders established Mutts which, in due course, developed into vast educational institutions, although emphasis was laid upon the tenets of the particular religious school of thought which was responsible for the foundation in question. A number of institutions existed in Southern India for the promotion of learning. In the fifth century, a Brahmin student Mayūra Śarman went to Kāncī to learn Pravaçana, although he later on became a king.⁴⁷⁸ The Kadamba king Mukkana founded the University or Agrahāra of Tālgunda (Sthana Kundur) to promote education in his country and brought thirty-two Brahmin

⁴⁷⁸ *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 176 (Talgunda).

families from Kashmir for the purpose.⁴⁷⁹ Likewise, the Agrahāra of Kuppatur was the headquarters of the Kālāmukha ascetics and was flourishing in the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era.⁴⁸⁰ The Kālāmukhas were a set of Śaiva devotees who came from Kashmir,⁴⁸¹ and they generally carried a staff with them. Dr. Venkatasubbaiya considers some of them followed the Śaivāgama while the others followed the Nakulāgama, as in Kuppatur.⁴⁸² In the 11th and 12th centuries, the Kālāmukhas held the headships of many Mutts and temples in Mysore and were very flourishing.⁴⁸³ In these sects, celibates were esteemed better than married men. In the 12th and 13th centuries, the Kotīśvara⁴⁸⁴ temple in Kuppatur was a prominent centre of learning as famous as Belgame and the head of the Mutt enjoyed the patronage of kings and viceroys.

The Mūlaguru of the Kālāmukhas at least in South India was *Vidyārāsi*. Śakti is a Kālāmukha ending.⁴⁸⁵ In the inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings, we meet a Kriyāśakti who was the teacher or preceptor of Bukka,⁴⁸⁶ of Harihara⁴⁸⁷ and of Devarāya.⁴⁸⁸ He is evidently a rājaguru. A disciple of Kriyāśakti, Mādhavamantri purchases a village and grants it as an agrahāra naming it Vidyēśvarapura.⁴⁸⁹ The donees are all Kashmiri Brahmins, following mostly Kathāśākhā of the black Yajurveda, and Rājaguru Kriyāśakti is the last Kālāmukha name found in the inscriptions.

Difference between Vidyāśankara and Kriyāśakti.

What was the Sringeri Maṭha before Vidyāśankara or Vidyātīrtha? Was it a Kālāmukha stronghold and a Lakulīśa

⁴⁷⁹ *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 186.

⁴⁸⁰ *E. C.*, VIII, Sh. 249.

⁴⁸¹ *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 114, 19, 20.

⁴⁸² *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 176, Śaiva Philosophy; *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 96, 107, 123; *E. C.*, V, Ak. 62, Lakulāgama; *E. C.*, VIII, Sk. 275, 276.

⁴⁸³ *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 177.

⁴⁸⁴ Is it Kaitabhesvara Temple?

⁴⁸⁵ *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 178.

⁴⁸⁶ *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281, 1366.

⁴⁸⁷ *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256.

⁴⁸⁸ *E. C.*, XI, Dg. 23, 1410.

⁴⁸⁹ *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281, 282.

Mutt? Did Vidyāśankara convert it into the modern Sringeri Mutt? *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 126, describes one Lakuliśa about 25–12–1037, as a master of logic and all other sciences, though he was not the founder of that school. If it was a Kālāmukha stronghold and a great centre of learning, when and how did it get transformed into the fountainhead of the Advaita school of thought? Sringeri was one of the four places where a Mutt was originally established by Śrī Śankarācārya. Śankara was Śaṇmathasthāpanācārya, having established six faiths or schools for the propagation of the tenets of Advaitism, to spiritualise the masses. Reasoning entered religious discussions and *pīṭhas* were established where the mystery surrounding the Mahāvākya was expounded. It is also interesting to observe that in the Maṭhas which Śankara founded, the śaktis Bhadrakālī, Poornagiri, Viśāladevi and Śārādā were installed respectively at Dvārakā, Badari, Govardhan and Sringeri.

There is no evidence forthcoming to indicate any relationship between the Sringeri Maṭha and the Kālāmukhas, unless it be the grants of the fourteenth century to disciples of Kriyāśakti and some other references of the time from which various inferences have been drawn, to be presently considered.

Dr. A. Venkatasubbaiya in his article on *Rājaguru Kriyāśakti*⁴⁹⁰ is of opinion that Vidyāranya was Kriyāśakti. The reasons he gives are very important.

1. Kriyāśakti was teacher or preceptor of the kings of Vijayanagara, *viz.*, Bukka I, Harihara II, and Devarāya from 1368⁴⁹¹ to 1410.⁴⁹² He was their kulaguru and adviser.
2. He was also the guru of Mādhavamūrti, in 1347.⁴⁹³
3. Kriyāśakti, on account of his austerities and refulgence (*tejas*), was God Śiva incarnate and to please Mādhava (*mantri*) gave to the world *Saivāgama Sāra Saṁgraha*.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹⁰ *Q. J. M. S.*, VIII, pp. 118–36.

⁴⁹¹ *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281.

⁴⁹² *E. C.*, XI, Dg. 23.

⁴⁹³ *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.

⁴⁹⁴ *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.

4. He was a great scholar and promoter of the path of the Upaniṣads, Vedas and Śāstras.
5. He bestowed sovereignty on the Vijayanagara kings.
6. Kriyāśakti was also known by a name that began with Vidyā.
7. His death occurred about the same time approximately as that of Vidyāraṇya. When he died, he took the form of a linga Vidyāśankara.⁴⁹⁵ The inscription of 1389 refers to his death in the previous year *Vibhava* 1388 and records a grant of a village to the god Vidyāśankara established there. The village itself was called Vidyāśankarapura. I may observe that it is interesting to find the village called in this manner because the temple in commemoration of Vidyātīrtha or Vidyāśankara at Sringeri was also called the Vidyāśankara temple.

With these inferences drawn from the inscriptions regarding Kriyāśakti, if we should compare the traditional achievements of Vidyāraṇya, we shall arrive at the following conclusions. Like Kriyāśakti Vidyāraṇya was :

- (1) the kulaguru and the spiritual as well as temporal preceptor and adviser of the Vijayanagara kings,
- (2) a man of great austerities,
- (3) a great scholar and promoter of the commentaries on the Vedas,
- (4) the person who bestowed sovereignty on Harihara, after establishing the kingdom of Vijayanagara, and
- (5) he died in 1386 A.D.

The points requiring explanation before concluding as to the identity of Vidyāraṇya with Kriyāśakti are the following :

- (1) Vidyāraṇya's death is 1386 ; Kriyāśakti's 1388.
- (2) Why should Bukka (crown prince) desire to commemorate Kriyāśakti ? Was it because like Mādhava-mantri, he was also his disciple ?

- (3) Since the village was given the name of Vidyāśankara-pura, may it not suggest that Kriyāśakti was Vidyātīrtha himself?
- (4) According to the copper-plates referred to in *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 58, Vidyāranya who was at Benares in 1356, came to Vijayanagara at the request of Bukka I, coupled with a *nirūpa* from the senior Śrīpāda and, after several years, when he died at Hampe in 1386, Harihara II gave the Vidyāranya grant to the mahājanas at Sringeri.
- (5) The *samādhi* or tomb of Vidyāranya is in Hampe behind the Virūpākṣa temple, and to these have to be added literary references.

On all these points, Dr. Venkatasubbaiya has very remarkable statements to make. While referring the interested reader to his article for a detailed study, his reasonings may be summarised :—

- (1) Bukka had every reason to commemorate Kriyāśakti because he was the family guru who brought prosperity to the country.
- (2) Kriyāśakti could not be Vidyātīrtha because the latter died in 1333, at any rate he was not alive after 1356. His death was commemorated by the building of the Vidyāśankara temple about 1338 A.D. Mulbagal 11, therefore, does not lend any inference that Kriyāśakti was Vidyāśankara.
- (3) But, since the renaming of the village was as Vidyāśankara, it must be in commemoration of one whose name had a prefix Vidya. This is indeed implied in the suggestion of Mr. Narasimhachar.⁴⁹⁶ If we look round, we shall see that the guru of Sringeri having this name approximately, who died about this period was Vidyāranya. A difference of two years in the dates given for the deaths of Vidyāranya and Kriyāśakti can be explained from the fact that

⁴⁹⁶ *M. A. R.*, 1907-08, pp. 16, 55.

Śaka dates do require correction for accurate verification. Here, I must remark that Vidyāraṇya was guru to Mādhavamantri will also have to be established, before identifying him with Kriyāśakti, for obviously Mādhavamantri could not be Mādhavācārya, brother of Sāyana. Much less could he be Vidyāraṇya himself. This fatal objection to the Kriyāśakti theory has not been considered by Dr. Venkatasubbaiya.

- (4) Regarding Harihara's copper-plates, their genuineness, he says, has to be proved. Dr. Venkatasubbaiya controverts the statements in the grants from the stone inscriptions. I do not think there are such irreconcilable differences as he makes out. Further, no reasons are given to declare them spurious. What are these inscriptions?
- (a) 1386. Grant to three scholars by Harihara II in the presence of Vidyāraṇya because they helped in the commentaries of the four Vedas. Grant is made at his instance and in his presence. Vidyāraṇya must be the Mādhavācārya connected with *Veda-Bhāṣya*. Dr. V. says that Harihara's gift of lands in the presence of Vidyāraṇya, thirty-four days later contradicts its genuineness. Apart from the verification of Śaka dates required for purposes of accurate calculation, supposing it was a kind of grant before death, actually made at the time, but really engraved later on, the scribe putting down the date he wrote on, I do not know how Dr. V. would get over it.
- (b) Another objection he takes to C.P. of 1386 is that the succession list is here transposed between Bhārati Kṛṣṇa and Vidyāraṇya.
- (c) The third objection is that the suggestion that Vidyā-tīrtha was living in 1356 discredits the veracity of the grants relating to Bukka's requests to Vidyāraṇya to return, for on the occasion of the consecration of the temple of Vidyāśankara, in memory

of the guru, he is said to be in existence. *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1, 1346 proves Bhāratitīrtha was the pontiff of Sringeri at the time. There is no gift to Vidyātīrtha which would have been the case were he alive, as the senior and more illustrious of the two. *E. C.*, VI, Kp. 30, 11-6-1378 (stone) mentions Vidyāraṇya succeeding Bhāratī Kṛṣṇa.

In this connection, I must observe, with reference to Dr. Venkatasubbaiya's remarks that Mr. Narasimhachar does not say that Vidyātīrtha was alive in 1356.

(5) Dr. Venkatasubbaiya says that the incident⁴⁹⁷ relating to Vidyāraṇya, Akṣobya-tīrtha and Vedānta Desika is unreliable and we may leave it aside. *Puṇya-sloka-manjari*, it may be observed, gives a different version.

(6) Dr. Venkatasubbaiya next subjects to scrutiny Mr. R. Narasimhachar's views regarding the authorship of the commentaries of the Vedas, in arriving at a conclusion that Bhāradvāja Mādhava is Vidyāraṇya.

(a) *Tīthi-pradīpikā* of Narasimhasūri says *Kālanirṇaya* has been dealt with by Vidyāraṇya and others and according to Mr. Narasimhachar *Kālanirṇaya* is a well-known work of Mādhavācārya. The doctor's comment is that *Kālanirṇaya* in the śloka refers to a subject and not to a book. In any case, tradition is the only connection. However, I must remark, that Vidyāraṇya dealt with it is certain, either as a subject or as a book.

(b) Claim for *Vyāsa Sūtra Vṛtti* being based on Vidyāraṇya's verses is said to relate to Mādhavācārya's *Vaiyāsika-nyāya-mālā-vistāra*. This rests on the same tradition as the authorship of the other, says Dr. Venkatasubbaiya.

(c) Mādhavācārya's sister's son Ahobala Pandita mentions *Dhātu Vṛtti* and commentaries on the four Vedas

⁴⁹⁷ *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XXIV, 1916, pp. 277-312.

as done by Vidyāraṇya, that he established Harihara as king, and that Sarasvatī had incarnated in him. These, however, were the works of Sāyana, son of Māyana, as the introduction and colophon will show. At the most, it will show that Vidyāraṇya was Sāyana. We must remember, says the doctor, that at most it is tradition and it makes Vidyāraṇya, Sāyana and Mādhava appear the same person. According to him, neither Mādhava nor his brother Sāyana had anything to do with the establishment of the Vijayanagara kingdom, and none of these books was written by Vidyāraṇya.

- (d) *Pancadaśī* ascribed to Bharātītīrtha and Mādhava, cf. Rāmakṛṣṇa's commentary and the Sringeri titles of Bhāratītīrtha. Dr. Venkatasubbaiya considers the inference far-fetched.
- (7) There is nothing to negative the theory that because of the gift in the presence of the guru, Vidyāraṇya is not identical with Kriyāśakti. Such a thing is not unusual.⁴⁹⁸ This does not imply, Mādhava to be Vidyāraṇya but only that Vidyāraṇya was the guru of Harihara and was Kriyāśakti.
- (8) Dr. Venkatasubbaiya refers to Mādhava's connection with commentaries on the four Vedas and refers to the introduction of the *R̥k Samhita*. There it is said that Bukka enjoined on Mādhavācārya to publish a commentary expounding clearly the meaning of the four Vedas, that Mādhavācārya said his brother Sāyana knew about the work and he may be asked to do it ; on being ordered to do so, the compassionate Sāyana undertook the work. Dr. Venkatasubbaiya says that the guru and *sanyāsi* could not have been ordered about, that an ascetic would not refer to the other of his pūrva-āśrama and that, therefore, Mādhavācārya referred to

cannot be Vidyāranya. But who he is, he does not say.

- (9) Harihara II, describes himself as worshipper at the lotus feet of Kriyāśaktideva. For obvious reasons,⁴⁹⁹ Mādhavamantri of Āngirasa *gotra* cannot be identical with Vidyāranya.

The literary references on which reliance is placed for the identity of Mādhava, brother of Sāyana, with Vidyāranya may be summed up and explained :—

- (a) Mādhava cited by Devirāja in the introduction to his commentaries on the *Nighaṇṭu* is the son of Venkatācārya,⁵⁰⁰
- (b) Mādhava Deva of *Veda Bhāṣya* consulted by Devirāja is anterior to Mādhava, brother of Sāyana,
- (c) Mādhavabhatta referred to by Sāyana in *R.V.*, X, 86—1 may be Mādhava of Devirāja.
- (d) Mādhava referred to by Mahīdhara may be any one of the above,
- (e) Devirāja is himself anterior to Sāyana, and⁵⁰¹
- (f) Mr. Narasimbachar's statement that several scholars helped Mādhavācārya and Sāyana in the composition of the commentaries contained in the copper-plates of 1386.

If we, therefore, says Dr. Venkatasubbiah, exclude the hypothesis of Narasimbachar about Mādhavācārya's contribution and accept the tradition that Vidyāranya established the Vijayanagara Empire, that he was the family guru of Harihara and Bukka, that he was noted for his austerities and scholarships, we find all these in Kriyāśakti.

- (i) He had a name like Vidyāśankara, Vidyāranya, etc.⁵⁰²

- (ii) Bukka II commemorates Vidyēśvarapura.⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁹ *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281, cf. Banavase Record.

⁵⁰⁰ See *Puṇyaslokamanjari*, *Gururathnamāla* and *Śusama*.

⁵⁰¹ Nirukta, *Bibl. Ind.*, Edn., I, p. 4.

⁵⁰² Max Muller, *Rig Veda*, VI, p. XXX.

⁵⁰³ *E. C.*, X, Mb. 11.

- (iii) Foundation of an agrāhara Mādhavapura b, Mādhavamantri on his death-bed. He is succeeded by Narahari, a disciple of Vidyāśankara.⁵⁰⁴
- (iv) Austerities—*tapas* or *tejas*—incarnation of Śiva mark him out as holy.⁵⁰⁵
- (v) Author of several works.⁵⁰⁶ Prominence by disciples to Vedas, Śūtras and Upaniṣads.
- (vi) Connection with royalty—Kulaguru.⁵⁰⁷

Therefore, Vidyāraṇya is Kriyāśakti and a successor of the well-known Vāmaśakti of Kedāreśvara Maṭha at Belgame. But these conclusions of Dr. Venkatasubbaiah do not solve the headship of the Sringeri Maṭha by Vidyāraṇya. It is the fundamental difference in teaching between the Kriyāśakti and Sringeri schools of religious thought that led, among others, Mr. Narasimhachar to consider that Mādhavamantri could not be Mādhavācārya or Vidyāraṇya. The learned doctor attempts to meet this question thus :

“ It is believed that Kālāmukhas were Agamic Śaivas who placed the authority of the Āgamas above that of the Vedas, while the Sringeri Maṭha is known to be the stronghold of the Vaidik Śaivas, who reject the authority of the Āgamas, and accept the Vedas only as authoritative. This belief about the Kālāmukhas does not appear to be entirely justified. In the 11th to 13th centuries, they were in a flourishing condition and practically had a monopoly of the leaderships of the Maṭhs and colleges in the Kanarese country, and were liberally patronised by the ruling kings. As it cannot be seriously argued that Vedic Śaivism was dead or moribund in that period, and that the rulers of that period were accustomed to dispense their patronage to heretics only, ” we must take it that Kālāmukhas did not deny the authority of the Vedas. For, in an earlier period, Vāmaśakti had arrived at the final meeting of the Vedānta and of the *Dharma Śāstras*

⁵⁰⁴ *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281.

⁵⁰⁵ 5-4-1931, *J. B. Br. A. S.*, IV, p. 115.

⁵⁰⁶ *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375 ; VII, Sk. 281 ; X, Mb. 11 ; XI, Dg. 23

⁵⁰⁷ *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375 ; VII, Sk. 281.

and later on Vāmaśakti II was greater still. Further, even if Kriyāśakti were an Āgamic Śaiva, it cannot be said that his teachings were unacceptable to the Vedic Śaivas, and even Mr. V. Subrahmanya Iyer regards *Tātparya Dipikā* as an important work on the Advaita Vedānta.⁵⁰⁸

Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer, in his anxiety to identify Āngirasa Mādhava with Vidyāranya, even if he could not succeed in establishing the identity of the two Mādhavas has not applied himself to this aspect of the question. But, as we have indicated above, however great Kriyāśakti may have been, whatever influence he may have exercised over Bukka and Harihara and however brilliant his disciples Mādhavamantri and Narahari and his *śiṣyas* at the Vijayanagara palace, the identification of Kriyāśakti with Vidyāranya attempted by Dr. Venkatasubbaiya looks a little far-fetched. As Krishna Sāstri observes, 'minister Mādhava's pure Śaivism is opposed to the notions of Advaita religion where Viṣṇu and Śiva are not looked upon with the prejudice of the sectarian.'⁵⁰⁹ I do not know if an inference could not be drawn from Vidyāranya's northern pilgrimages and his return with a Brahmarākṣasa to Sringeri, which would support the view propounded by Dr. Venkatasubbaiya that Kriyāśakti and Vidyāranya are identical.

Mādhavācārya and Mādhavamantri—Identity Discussed with Reference to Literary and Other Evidence Available

The subject of the identity of Mādhavācārya and Mādhavamantri and of either of these with Vidyāranya has been discussed by scholars in several articles. Where difficulty is felt in identifying Mādhavamantri with Mādhavācārya on account of difference in parentage, *gōtra*, *sūtra*, achievements, and the religious school of thought to which each belonged, attempt is still made by Mr. V. Subrahmanya Iyer, for instance, to describe Āngirasa Mādhava as Vidyāranya. If we have succeeded in showing that Kriyāśakti cannot be identical with Vidyāranya, as attempted by Dr. Venkatasubbaiya,

⁵⁰⁸ *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256 ; VIII, Sb. 375 ; X, Mb. 11 ; XI, Dg. 23.

⁵⁰⁹ *A. S. I.*, 1907-08, p. 238.

perhaps developing a casual hint of Mr. Narasimhachar that Kriyāśakti referred to in the inscriptions may be Vidyātīrtha and on the fact that a Vijayanagara prince is referred to in one place as the disciple of Kriyāśakti Vidyāraṇya without a conjunction between the two words, then it follows that Kriyāśakti's disciple Mādhavamantri who died in the Kanara District in 1392-93 cannot at all be Mādhavācārya, brother of Sāyana, much less Vidyāraṇya. Without denying martial qualities or political association to Mādhavācārya who became Vidyāraṇya, it may be confidently asserted that during the period that Vidyāraṇya was occupying the pontifical office at Sringeri, Mādhava Amātya was waging war, governing the country and obeying orders from the king, thus clearly negating the identity of Vidyāraṇya with him. There is nothing to indicate that his relations with the gurus at Sringeri were other than amicable or peaceful. He must have been very well known in the environs of Sringeri and probably have met Mādhavācārya, the Vidyāraṇya Mahāśvāmi. He gave many villages to Brahmins bordering on Sringeri and his influence was great in Tirthahalli, Shikarpur, Banavase, and the regions of the west coast. He was an active propagandist, built Śiva temples and published various works so much as to become known as the propagator of the Upaniṣadic faith and *pratiṣṭa* guru. From one of his works, he was called the establisher of the Karnāṭaka Rājya.

Sūta Samhita is one of the most fundamental works on the Advaita Vedānta on which Śankara bases some of his strongest arguments, while he made a repeated study of it before writing the commentary on the *Vedānta Sūtras*. *Tātparya Dipikā* is a commentary by Āngirasa Mādhava and it is upon this Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer concludes Vidyāraṇya must be this Mādhava.

This Mādhava was the son of Cāvunda bhatta and of Mācāmbikā. He was a disciple of Kriyāśakti. He was a minister under the early Vijayanagara kings. He was a very Tryambaka, excelling Bṛhaspati in wisdom, teaching the essence of Śaivāgama after a study of the Vedas, Purāṇas

and *Saṁhitas*, as early as 1347. He is referred to in several other grants up to 1391.⁵¹⁰ He was a Brahmin of the *Āngirasa gōtra* and *Āpastamba Sūtra*. He is described as a warrior, conqueror and builder of an Empire, wrester of Goa from the Muhammadans and heroic minister. When he was appointed as ruler of *Āraga*, he was the incarnation of the power of Bukka. His gifts to Kashmiri Brahmins under *E. C.*, 281 (1368)⁵¹¹ confirm his devotion to *Kriyāsakti* school. On the death of *Kriyāsakti* in 1388 and his transformation into a *linga* as *Vidyāsankara*, he makes a gift of a village in *Āvani Nādu* calling it *Vidyāsankarapura*.

The place of *Bhāradvāja Mādhava*'s birth is not yet definitely known. Some say he belonged to a poor family of Brahmins residing in *Wārangal*. His parentage and *gōtra* and his connections with the court of *Vijayanagara* on the one hand, and his relationship to *Sāyana* and *Bhogānatha* on the other, have already been referred to. He is described as the establisher of the *Karnāṭaka Empire* of *Vijayanagara*, and associated with the *Advaitic* or non-dualistic school of philosophical thought like *Vidyāranya*, as a teacher and foremost exponent of it, but he is not considered a warrior, conqueror or author of all the works attributed to him. While his brother *Sāyana* was a minister under four kings, *Mādhava-cārya*'s activities were non-secular or spiritual. It is said that there is no indication of his connection with the *Sringeri* region, no evidence of any title of *Ācārya* bestowed upon him though he was called so, no propagandic work or *Vedāntic* authorship to his credit, no evidence of *Vedic* scholarship though he was

⁵¹⁰ *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375, C.P. 11-2-1347.

⁵¹¹ *E. C.*, VI, *Balehonnur* 1368, Sk. 35; *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281, 282, 1368; *HL*. 84, 1380; VIII, Nr. 34, 1367; Sb. 152, 1380; *TL*. 147, 1384; Sb. 116, 1389; Sb. 181, 1391; *Goa C.P.*; *J. B. Br. A. S.*, IX, 127; *A. S. I. W. C.*, 1920, p. 56.

Note—Kashmiri Brahmins in the *Shimoga District* are also known as *Sahavasis*. See *Uchodi Inscription*, *E. C.*, VII, Sk. 281, 1368. *Talgunda Inscription* refers to *Ahichchhatra* in the north, VII, Sk. 286, Nj. 269.

the brother of a great scholar, no probability of any endowments or grants to Brahmins when he was minister and that he does not appear to have achieved anything to justify the title of the establisher of the Karnātaka Rājya. In fact, it is said, he was not even the sole author of even *Pancadaśī*, a manual of Vedānta, which he writes only after Sanyāsa.

Some writers go further and say he was a half-brother or cousin of Sāyana.⁵¹² Heras, however, says he was old when he helped Harihara I, in founding an Empire though curiously enough he identifies Mādhava in *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375, with the brother of Sāyana, and Mr. Narasimhachar calls him a minister under early Vijayanagara kings. According to the colophon in the *Parāśara Mādhaviya*, Mādhava Amātya was the bearer of the burden of the sovereignty of Bukka and in *Puruṣārtha Sudhānidhi*, Sāyana describes his elder brother as hereditary preceptor and minister of Bukka I and compares him as Bṛhaspati to Indra. One of the inscriptions describes Mādhavamantri in identical terms, thus showing that both Mādhavācārya and Mādhavamantri were held in the same esteem by Bukka at the time.

Mādhavācārya died in 1386,⁵¹³ if he was Kriyāśakti in 1388; but Mādhavamantri died about 1392-93, if not in 1391.⁵¹⁴ Mādhavācārya died at Hampe⁵¹⁵ while Mādhavamantri died in the western parts. When we do not hear of Mādhavācārya at all but of Vidyāranya, we continue to notice Mādhavamantri as governor, commander, warrior under the orders of Vijayanagara kings.

Therefore, while the two Mādhavas were contemporaries serving under the same king, perhaps, authors with attainments in the same school of philosophy, both Brahmins and perhaps (according to Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer) belonging to the same sect or community, the inexplicable difference

⁵¹² *E. C.*, X, Mb. 11 pura.

⁵¹³ Heras, *Q. J. M. S.*, XIX, p. 14, *Beg.*, pp. 97-98.

⁵¹⁴ *M. A. R.*, 1916, 97.

⁵¹⁵ *J. B. Br. A. S.*, IV, p. 115. Dr. Krishna doubts it.

in dates and achievements, *gōtra* and parentage cannot be explained away by a mere suggestion to exclude the Kānci inscription from consideration or a statement that literary references such as we have already referred to are interpolations. Further, that Mādhavamantri who is also called Mādarasa is not identical with Mādhavācārya is clear from the fact that when Vidyāranya went to Sringeri, Bukka directed Mādarasa to make a grant.⁵¹⁶ Mādhavamantri was a provincial governor and never a *sanyāsi*, while Mādhavācārya became Vidyāranya after renouncing the world. When minister Mādhava makes a gift he calls it Mādhavapura and not Vidyāranyapura. That he is not the same as Mādhavācārya or Vidyāranya is further clear because a copper-plate of Harihara says Mādhavamantri gave a grant of lands in 1386 to three scholars, promoters of the commentaries on the *Vedas* in the presence of Vidyāranya. He cannot make a grant referring to himself in another place of the same grant as Vidyāranya. That Vidyāranya may not be Kriyāśakti, we have shown already. If we should say that Vidyāranya is not Mādhavācārya, the possibility of Sāyana will turn up as a claimant. The old Sāyana-Mādhava theory has been given up and I have no wish to raise it up again.

I am aware of the circumstances that in older times, even in Sringeri, the practice of people taking up *sanyāsa* in old age existed and, as such, there is not much in the statement of Mr. Narasinhachar that Mādhavācārya who was a *sanyāsi* could not have taken the mendicant's staff for a sword, but the impossibility of it in 1390 is clear as he was dead four years previously to Mādhavamantri's subjugation of the Muhammadans of Goa.

The theories of adoption and the two *gōtras* included in the Trayarisheya groups put forward by Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer likewise are held by a broken reed. There is no evidence that Sāyana was given in adoption and the parentage and achievements conflict along with other outstanding features with the identity of Mādhavamantri as Vidyāranya.

⁵¹⁶ *M. A. R.*, 1916, 97.

It, therefore, follows that Bhāradvāja Mādhava, brother of Sāyana and Bhoganātha, hereditary guru and minister at Vijayanagara, was the great Vidyāranya.

General Remarks on Vidyāranya

I have endeavoured to show how, according to tradition and history, tested by circumstantial evidence, from the earliest times the house of Vijayanagara was connected with Virūpākṣa, their family god. The connection of Vidyāranya with the kings and the influence and importance of his personality at the court of Vijayanagara have been described in detail. It is not improbable that Vidyāranya used to perform penance on the hills at Hampe, leading a very austere life and worshipping Virūpākṣa.⁵¹⁷ While the royal line and the imperial city are gone, the fame of Vidyāranya and his glory continue undiminished for ages.

Whether he was born at Wārangal or at the Virūpākṣa kṣetra, whether he was a Telugu Brahmin or a Hoysala Karnāṭaka, his greatness is universally acknowledged. He appears to have taken *sanyāsa* when he was about 63 or 64, in 1331, according to *Guru Parampara* and does not seem to have stayed at Sringeri for any length of time, though according to another account he always lived at Sringeri. His guru Vidyātīrtha was originally in Kāncī, where he was head in 1296. When he came to Sringeri is not known. That Vidyāranya was at Hampe and was considered a very important factor in the solidification of Hinduism is attested by every tradition and inscriptions speak to the regard in which he was held by the kings and how they felt the necessity for his presence and appealed to the senior Śrīpāda to get him to the Vijayanagara capital.

Vidyāranya's friendship with the heads of other religious schools like Vedānta Desika and others was useful in cementing the scattered elements in Hinduism. He realised that without a powerful Hindu king interested in the religion of his

⁵¹⁷ *M. A. R.*, 1916, pp. 94-95.

motherland and able to control disorder and introduce peace, no religion could thrive. He was not new to Harihara who was himself a Hoysala feudatory while the Hoysala flag was flying over Hampe. Mādhavācārya, as we have observed, has been described as hereditary preceptor and minister to the rulers of Vijayanagara. There is nothing strange in his befriending Harihara to achieve the political purpose of a Hindu Empire where Ārya *dharma* may have sway. His contribution in the foundation was aptly recognised by naming the capital after him and by raising Sringeri into a Mutt of the greatest importance. The Maṭha developed into a magnificent state, with honours and titles to its guru and vast lands and villages to manage, so that the Hindu *dharma* might flourish in peace. Vidyāranya did not construct a military empire but, nevertheless, he was a great statesman and empire-builder.

There is a tradition that while Sāyana was guru at Sringeri Mādhavācārya his brother had no connection with that *pīṭha*. He was only a layman, concerned with the day-to-day administration of the newly-found Empire and that very late in life, when his work was complete, he became a *sanyāsi*, came to Āvani in the Mulbagal Rājya and founded a Maṭha there. It is said that he died there and the references in Mb. 11 relating to the agrahāras and temples in Āvani Nādu no doubt refer to Vidyāranya, but in this connection, I must frankly admit my inability to explain this position, though support may be attracted to it from the Nellore grants.

When did Mādhavācārya take *sanyāsa* and becomes Vidyāranya? If we follow Ballāla III's movements we shall observe, he goes to Delhi in 1310, returns in 1313, restores Dorasamudra to its ancient position in 1316, and has peace in his dominions till 1326. The Sultan's army advances upon Wārangal and in another two years Wārangal and Kampili fall. Movements of Ballāla to his northern frontier and garri-soning of his forts then begin, for there is no other intermediary or buffer state between the Sultan and himself. The fortress of Vijayanagara must have been then strengthened on this

side of the river Tungabhadra, where he established himself in 1339. Deducting seven years from this date, we get 1331-32. Probably by this time, Mādhavācārya felt secure and took *sanyāsa*, continuing to help by his presence and advice in the construction of the great edifice. But this, of course, is a conjecture.

Mādhavācārya was an extraordinary character whose fame increases with the march of time and develops into an enigma. Exact and extensive knowledge of the Vedas was his. He was excellent in Brahma Vidyā. He had varied literary and religious activities. His political philosophy was of a rarely practical type and in a period of political and religious turmoil he ushered into existence a powerful Hindu Empire.

The Vidyāsankara temple was built on the spot in 1336 where Vidyātīrtha entered into the Lambika *yoga* in 1333. The date generally given to Vidyātīrtha is 1296-1384 but that is incorrect according to *Guru Parampara* and is the result of mistaking Vidyāranya for Vidyāsankara. It is also said that Vidyātīrtha lived for seventy-three years at Kāncī. Except from the inscriptions referred to in these pages, it is not possible to confirm or deny this statement. As he is credited with the revival of the Sringeri *pītha* whose influence had waned under the Lingayats, his advent to Sringeri must be taken for a fact.

There is no one to compare to Mādhava amongst the gurus of Sringeri in learning. But for him, the Vedas would have been a sealed book to Sanskrit scholars. He was versed in Sanskrit lore, deeply learned in the Vedāṅgas and well-acquainted with the nature, origin and significance of the archaic forms in which the Vedas so greatly abound. He had attained a mastery over the subtleties of accent known as *Svaraprakriya*, was amply gifted with a capacity for the perception of the subtle and the indefinite, and he was thoroughly conversant with the Hindu mode of thought and writing. His encyclopædic knowledge enabled him to comprehend the Vedas in their true light.⁵¹⁸

As we have seen, the internecine strife amongst the Hindu rulers in the North paved the way for the Moslem invasions and, in spite of some brilliant episodes now and then, Northern India ultimately became subject to the Muhammadan yoke. Opportunities for plunder were freely availed of by the Sultans of Delhi. The campaigns of Malik Kāfur and Allāuddin laid waste rich tracts of Southern India up to the Cape, taking advantage of dynastic struggles and unceasing animosities amongst the rulers of the South Indian kingdoms. Death and desolation and plunder at the capitals; destruction of temples; conversion of the inhabitants to the religion of the Prophet, followed in the wake. The Yādavas of Deogiri, the Kākatiyas of Wārangal, the Hoysala Ballālas of Dorasamudra, the Rājās of Kampili and the Pāndyans in the far South were unable to withstand the aggressor. Deogiri and Wārangal became subordinate to the Sultanate at Delhi. The Kampili Kingdom was overthrown and its ruler slain. On attempting to give succour and protection to Bahāuddin, a nephew of the Sultan, the Ballāla was attacked and his capital Dorasamudra sacked. Therefore, naturally, these South Indian potentates nursed a grievance and waited for an opportunity to assert themselves. The internal condition of the Empire at Delhi under Sultan Muhammad provided the opportunity. In South India itself the heads of several religious institutions, with Vidyāranya as the foremost of them, were anxious to guard and protect Hindu religion and *dharma*. Ballāla III was endeavouring to strengthen his position and bring about an understanding amongst the neighbouring princes for the unification of the South. From these united efforts was founded the Empire of Vijāyanagara.

The origin and establishment of the Vijāyanagara Empire was not born of any attachment to any particular form of Hinduism. It was a comprehensive movement, taking into its fold all forms of the Hindu faith, including the prevalent forms of Jainism and other religious faiths of a non-descript character, for the preservation of the independence of Hindu *dharma*, free from the onrush of the proselytising Muhammadan

and to provide for it a peaceful home. In this great work, a number of prominent men of all religions played a part. Mādhava, Sāyana, Bhoganātha, Kriyāśakti, Mādhavamantri, the great and universally revered Vidyātīrtha, the heads of other religious faiths and prominent rulers like Ballāla, perhaps the Kākatiya Kanya Nāyaka and the feudatory nobles Harihara and Bukka were amongst these. Krishnadevarāya, it is said, found Brahmins especially useful as administrative officers in both civil and military departments. They 'were scholars, afraid of *adharma*, well-versed in *rāja nīti* and offered to rule accordingly'. A Brahmin 'would stand to his post even in times of danger and would continue in service though reduced to becoming a subordinate to a Kṣatriya or Śūdra.' Therefore, it was always 'advisable for a king to make Brahmins officers'. The strength of the Hindu civilisation was manifested in the culmination of this national effort for their preservation. Like the love of country with the enemy at the gate, love of religion takes hold when it is fiercely attacked from without. Such a love appeared in the Karnātaka country in the fourteenth century, long prior to the development of the national idea in Europe.

The old Hindu temples and Mutts fostered such a spirit, as powerful, social and economic centres for these movements besides being a source of religious inspiration. They were corporations where the co-operation of the people of the locality, aided with royal patronage, was possible. They had the courage to give independent and timely advice, unhampered from any mercenary motives, and because of the source of such advice, the difficulty of opposition to it was great, if not often impossible. These were, therefore, common meeting grounds for the ruler and his subjects providing opportunities for a cordial and healthy co-operation.

As I have said elsewhere, the dismemberment of the Hoysala dynasty was the result of the Muhammadan invasions and the rise of Vijayanagara, under Harihara and Bukka, once its vassals and feudatories. The Hoysala dynasty was thus continued in the Vijayanagara Empire which was the

direct outcome of a sovereign ruler of Mysore, Vira Ballāla III to secure national liberty in the South by raising to be the capital of Empire his new foundation of Virūpākṣapaṭṭaṇa. As we know the relationships between the kings of Vijayanagara and the rulers of Mysore, it may, appropriately enough, be said, 'it was again Mysore that survived Talikota to continue the traditions of Vijayanagara occupying the throne of the patriotic sovereign Vira Ballāla III who devoted his life to the cause of Hinduism and made it possible for the South Indian Hindus to be the Hindus they are to-day.' From the time when Rāja Wadiyar of Mysore overcame Tirumalarāya and seated himself on the jewelled throne, the virtual independence of Mysore may be said to have been recognised. It is, therefore, a matter of profound gratification to us, in Mysore, as I am sure it is to all Hindus, that 'His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore is an ornament to the illustrious throne of the patriotic Hoysala Vira Ballāla III and that by his noble example as a foremost Hindu of Hindus of our times, stimulates his subjects to be the Hindus they are to-day.'

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